DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 146 061 SO 009 914

AUTHOR Fenton, Thomas P., Ed.
TITLE Education for Justice: A Resource Manual.
PUB DATE Feb 75
NOTE 359p.; Pages 209-20, 283-92, 297-352, 367-78 of the original document are copyrighted and therefore not available. They are not included in the pagination
AVAILABLE FROM Orbis Books, Maryknoll, New York 10545 ($7.95 paper cover)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Adult Education; Audiovisual Aids; Case Studies; Curriculum Development; Developing Nations; Educational Games; Educational Objectives; *Global Approach; Higher Education; *Justice; Learning Activities; Legal Education; Literature Reviews; Models; Peace; Political Influences; *Religious Education; Religious Factors; Resource Guides; Resource Materials; Secondary Education; Social Problems; Social Responsibility; *Teaching Techniques

ABSTRACT

The manual provides background material and resources for use by Christian educators in developing and implementing secondary level through adult programs on justice. Social action and personal involvement are stressed throughout the five sections of the manual. Section I explains how justice and injustice are interpreted throughout the manual and analyzes the content of the remaining four sections. Section II reviews eight readings on world justice, peace, international consciousness, political action, and world affairs. Section III describes 21 learning activities which utilize games, discussion, role play, and chalkboard exercises to teach about stereotypes, social involvement, power, communications, and perceptions. Each activity specifies objectives, materials, procedures, and time required. Section IV includes model educational programs developed by religious educators which are related to the learning activities and exercises in section III. By working through the models, the reader can develop a basic understanding of educational program creation and can fill in the blank educational model form provided for his/her own use. The final section suggests books, films, simulations, and other resources for inclusion in a basic justice education resource library. A brief description and ordering information are presented for each selection. (Author/DB)

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EDUCATION FOR JUSTICE

A RESOURCE MANUAL

Edited by

Thomas P. Fenton

SO 009 914

Orbis Books
Maryknoll, New York
1975

Education for Justice: A Resource Manual represents the efforts of many in the Development and Education Departments of Maryknoll, as well as of other individuals and organizations engaged in education for justice.

While responsibility for final shape and content of this *Resource Manual* rests with the editor, full credit and special thanks are due to:

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ISBN: 0-88344-119-5

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 74-83519

Manufactured in the United States of America

Second Printing

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INTRODUCTION

DESCRIPTION AND INTENT

Education for Justice: a Resource Manual is a basic and flexible sourcebook created specifically for Christian educators on all levels who would like to design and conduct educational programs with *justice* as their focus.

The intent of *Education for Justice: a Resource Manual* is to give these educators--especially those new to the subject--sufficient background and resource materials, program suggestions, and educational designs to do just that.

THE PREMISE

While there is ample justification and encouragement in many Church documents--Catholic and Protestant alike--for the rightful involvement of Christians in education and action for justice, the practice, unfortunately, lags far behind the demands of even the most modest of these documents--to say nothing of the crying needs of our times.

Writings on the subject of justice by popes (such as Paul's *A Call to Action* and *The Development of Peoples*), by conferences of bishops (such as the Synod document *Justice in the World* and *The Bishops' Call for Peace and the Self-Development of Peoples*), and by various other communities of Christians are as foreign to the average Christian as they are far from being the normal fare in religious education programs on any level.

At the Synod in 1971, the Roman Catholic bishops stated:

> We see in the world a set of injustices which constitute the nucleus of today's problems and whose solution requires the undertaking of tasks and functions in every sector of society, and even on the level of the global society towards which we are speeding in the last quarter of the twentieth century (*Justice in the World*, see below pp. 48-49).

Accordingly the bishops call for an "education to justice," the subject matter of which would be the "set of injustices" to which they refer and one of the purposes of which would be to "teach men to live their lives in its entire reality and in accord with the evangelical principles of personal and social morality which are expressed in the vital Christian witness of one's life" (Justice in the World, see below p. 53).

Education for Justice: A Resource Manual is offered in response to this call of the bishops and, more urgently, to the demands of our times for education and action for justice.

THE BOOK

After this Introduction, Education for Justice: A Resource Manual (hereafter cited: Resource Manual) is divided into five main sections:

SECTION ONE: THE CONTENT

In this section, attention is drawn particularly to the tensions and diversity of personal and organizational perspectives and interests so evident in the content of educational materials in this field. This is by way of an introduction to the formulation--by the educator--of a working definition of education for justice, in terms of the motive, objectives, and process of the program and the predispositions of its participants.

SECTION TWO: BACKGROUND READINGS

This is a collection of articles that reflect some of the diversity and tensions referred to above with respect to the what (content) and how (methodology) of education for justice.

SECTION THREE: EDUCATIONAL DESIGNS

Various experiential educational designs are presented in self-contained units with the title, objectives, length of activity, group size, materials needed, and detailed procedure spelled out in full for each.

SECTION FOUR: THE COURSE OF STUDIES

In this Section the educator--preferably in concert with his or her colleagues--is encouraged to outline a course of studies tailored to his or her particular needs. Program suggestions are offered and it is taken for granted that the educator will draw upon all of the Sections of the *Resource Manual* in formulating this course of studies.

SECTION FIVE: RESOURCES

This final section catalogs and annotates written and visual materials, learning activities, groups, and action resources.

THE CONTENT

Section One deals with a detailed analysis of the content in this *Resource Manual*. Suffice it to say, by way of introduction, that the *primary* focus of the content is *justice* and *injustices*. The principal focus is *not*, then, on area studies, or cultural enrichment; nor is it on U.S. foreign policy or international affairs in any neutral sense; nor is it even on the Third World or the global village.

To the extent that elements of any of these enter into our course of study it is only because they help us understand

> the serious injustices which are building around the world of men a network of domination, oppression, and abuses which stifle freedom and which keep the greater part of humanity from sharing in the building up and enjoyment of a more just and more fraternal world (*Justice in the World*, see below p. 45).

Since the "greater part of humanity" lives in the poorer nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America (the "Third World") special emphasis is placed throughout the *Resource Manual* on "the serious injustices" in these areas.

THE METHODOLOGY

The stress in this Resource Manual is on experiential education. While this in no way eliminates the need for personal research on the part of the participants or for exciting and involving films and lectures, we see at least three advantages in stressing this methodology:

1. It underlines the fact that education for justice demands personal involvement and commitment. Participants--teachers and students alike--are forced to surface and critically examine their values, perceptions, stereotypes, and priorities.

2. Experiential education gives participants an opportunity to examine their present behavior in various situations; at the same time, it encourages experimentation with new patterns of behavior. It thus stresses that learning is deepest when new behavior results from the process.

3. By emphasizing personal involvement within the course of studies, the possibilities for the same type of behavior "outside the classroom" are enhanced. Justice and injustices are not something one "learns about." Personal involvement is absolutely necessary during and after the course of studies, in and outside of the classroom.

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE RESOURCE MANUAL

The following are some questions that will undoubtedly come to mind as you* prepare to use this Resource Manual.

WITH WHOM CAN IT BE USED?

With the realization that education for justice is a field of study often as new to many Christian educators as it is to students, the materials in this Resource Manual are addressed to both the educator and the student.

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*Throughout the Resource Manual you will be addressed personally as the educator or director of the educational program.

The learning activities in Section Three have been included with secondary school participants in mind, but experience has shown that many of them are just as new and effective with college and adult education groups.

WHERE CAN IT BE USED?

The material in this Resource Manual was designed to be used in formal religious education programs, either in a supplementary manner or as special electives. The materials can also be organized into day-long or weekend formats.

Many of the resources and learning activities can also be used in social studies, area studies, and economics courses on the secondary school level. It should be remembered, however, that the primary focus of these materials is on "the set of injustices" to which the Synod document alluded. Education for justice is not the study of other countries in themselves, nor is it a cultural enrichment program.

HOW SHOULD IT BE USED?

In Section One you will

- be introduced to this field of study;
- be given a context in which to begin formulating a definition of education for justice; and
- be encouraged to sketch a working definition for your own purposes in terms of the motive, objectives, and process of your program and the predispositions of its participants.

With this introduction and with the rest of the background readings and resources in the Resource Manual you should be able to draw up a course of studies tailored to your own particular needs (See Section Four: Course of Studies).

One excellent way to use this Resource Manual is with your fellow teachers in a self-education workshop. Discuss the readings in Section Two, play some of the educational designs, preview some of the films and other materials from Section Five, and then, together draw up a course of studies.

This Resource Manual is designed to be a working manual which will in time take on the character of and become more and more suited to your specific needs as an educator. So, by all means, add background readings of your own, look for additional educational designs, and update and augment the collection of resources in Section Five.

WHAT ABOUT THE "PARTICIPANT WORKBOOK"?

The educational designs in Section Three are as whole and entire as they can reasonably be. For some you will need either no other materials or non-written items such as films, poker chips, or props of one sort or another.

Quite a few designs require the participants to have certain materials in hand either before or during the activity. To facilitate the full participation of all in the group a Participant Workbook has been prepared to accompany this Resource Manual.

The Participant Workbook (hereafter cited Workbook) contains all of the written materials that individuals in the group will need for most of the educational designs.

If participants do not have copies of the Workbook, it will be necessary for you to copy Instruction Sheets and other material for their use.

The Participant Workbook is available from Orbis Books, Maryknoll, New York 10545.

SECTION ONE

THE CONTENT

INTRODUCTION

DEFINITIONS

Educational materials that treat the many and varied aspects of education for justice are as different and conflicting as one would expect in any other field. There is no one line, no one definition of education for justice, any more than there is just one school of sociology, economics, or theology.

DIVERSITY OF PERSPECTIVES AND INTERESTS

The subject matter is the same--the "global village" we call Earth--but people view that subject matter from different perspectives and with different interests to represent. Educational materials naturally reflect, consciously or unconsciously, those differing perspectives and interests. They go by the names of international affairs education, global awareness education, development or mission education, and education for justice, depending upon one's perspective and interests.

Newcomers to this field--as to any field--will undoubtedly be overwhelmed as much by the diversity of these educational materials as by their volume. There is always the danger, too, that the educational methodology (role plays, simulations, games, etc.) will overshadow the content to the point that one becomes more absorbed in how to say something rather than in what to say.

The following sets of tensions are presented in an effort:

1. to help you critically to sift through the educational materials in this Resource Manual and in others in order to be able to uncover the perspectives and interests unique to each; and

2. to help you determine what it is that you will want to communicate in your educational programs.

TENSIONS IN CONTENT

When we examine closely the content of educational materials in this field we note tensions in many areas, including the following:

Descriptive/Analytical:

Much of the content of global education materials is descriptive in nature. That is, it paints a picture of the state of the world without explicitly diagnosing the causes of whatever problems may be raised. Other material goes beyond description to offer an analysis of causes. Descriptive content tells you that much of the Third World is undeveloped. Analytical material attempts to tell you why.

Figures on food, health, and housing from a source such as The UN Statistical Yearbook are examples of descriptive material. Films, photographs, and stories used in fund-raising appeals are usually only descriptive in character.

Some of these materials, while ostensibly only descriptive, carry with them an implicit analysis of the reality they describe. Thus, the designer of a charitable appeal might believe and, thus, imply, that it is your lack of concern that is to blame for this or that tragic reality. Very seldom is an effort made to explain in any other terms why the starving child pictured on a particular poster cannot be fed and adequately provided for by her own government and its agencies. This is not to put aside the need for charity or to cast aspersions on the motives of fund-raisers. Rather it is to suggest that we and the participants in our programs are being "educated" already from any number of sources as to the causes of injustices.

It is critical that you be able to discern the analysis that is contained--implicitly or explicitly--in any presentation of descriptive material. For one thing, it encourages the students to develop a critical sense of their own and, for another, it helps to avoid misunderstandings.

An example of the latter is the question of overpopulation. Without at all contesting the need for responsible family planning, it must be said that the question of population control is too often taken out of context when it is advanced as a major cause for underdevelopment. We are led to believe that this is the cause of underdevelopment, while nothing is said about the concentrations of wealth and power in the hands of only a minority.

Is it the poor* who are the problem, or is it the rich? One would be led to believe it's the former from the volumes which have been written about the poor and about poverty, and the precious little that appears in print about the minority of the rich who consume grossly disproportionate amounts of our precious resources.

It is worth noting, in this regard, that Japan, with a population density of 708 per sq. mile and a scarcity of natural resources, ranks as the second or third richest country in the world, while Peru, with plentiful resources and a population density of only 25 per sq. mile, is an undeveloped country. Why?

Teacher Activity: Critically examine the varieties of educational packets listed on pp. 419-21 of this Resource Manual and try to discern the analysis offered--implicitly or explicitly--in the descriptive content of each.

Examine, in the same way, other educational materials you may be using, in social studies, for instance, that touch on the problems of poverty, the Third World, etc. What analysis do they contain?

U.S.-Third World/Rich-Poor

Most educational materials in this field treat the United States as a whole--rich and poor alike, those with power and those without power. The same goes for the countries of the Third World. The implication is that "we" are rich and "they" are poor. Other materials distinguish between the poor and the powerful within each country.

In the use of a statistic that is often quoted in development education materials--"The United States, with only 6 percent of the world's population, consumes over 50 percent of the world's resources!"--the focus is on the United States as a whole. No distinctions are made between those who direct the acquisition of those resources, those who enjoy the benefits of those resources--in whatever varying degrees--and those, within our country, who don't share at all in those benefits.

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*Throughout this Resource Manual the terms "rich" and "poor" will be used to signify both economic wealth and the power that accompanies it (in all its manifestations) and will include the rich in Third World countries as well as the poor and others without power in our own country.

The facts, for instance, that 45.8 percent of our national income is in the hands of only 20 percent of the United States population (while the lowest 20 percent has only 3.2 percent) and 82.4 percent of publicly held shares in the nation's corporations are controlled by only 1.6 percent of the United States adult population--these facts are not taken into account when reference is made to the United States.

A word of caution: You would do well to be very precise in speaking about the responsibility of "the United States" for injustices in the Third World itself or in U.S. relationships with those countries. Imprecision in this area often gives rise to charges of being "anti-American." Are you implying that participants in your programs are responsible for these injustices? All U.S. citizens? Certain groups within the United States? Does "responsible" mean that they cause a given problem? that they benefit from the actions of others?

An obvious case in point is U.S. defense industries. The jobs and lives of hundreds of thousands of U.S. workers depended --in a tragic, but very real sense--on the continuation of U.S. involvement in the war in Indochina.

On the other hand, the U.S. Catholic bishops among many others declared U.S. involvement in Indochina unjust and called for an end to participation in that effort. That leaves us only a cruel choice: a war, with jobs, or peace and de-militarization, with the likelihood of layoffs and unemployment.

Many, many U.S. citizens benefited from U.S. involvement in Indochina. But in what ways could they (or we) be said to be to blame for U.S. policy in that area? What does responsibility mean in this context?

Further, what does responsibility mean in relation to the quest for justice in Third World countries?

If we suggest that it is our "Christian responsibility" to be involved in the problems of Third World countries, would we say, too, that it is the responsibility of Christians, say in the Philippines, to be concerned about problems of injustice within the U.S.? Why? Why not?

Third World countries, too, can be treated as single units with certain characteristics in common, or they can be looked at individually and with the divisions between rich and poor kept in mind.

Statistics on average per capita income in Third World countries are dramatic illustrations of the poverty that is characteristic of the peoples of the Third World as a whole. El Salvador has an average per capita income of $284 and the People's Republic of China shows an estimated average of $200. Two distinctions are important to note: (1) Within El Salvador, over one-third of all the wealth is concentrated in the hands of only 5 percent of the population; while (2) within China, the available wealth and resources are both rationally distributed and kept proportionate to the costs for food, health, and housing.

These examples illustrate the need to look at each country individually and to bear in mind divisions--if there are any--between the rich and poor within each country.

In summary, some educational materials speak of the conflict between nations, while others maintain that the conflict is rather between groups or classes (those with and those without power within and across the boundaries of each particular nation).

Teacher Activity: Read Julius Nyerere's speech "Division Is the Problem of the Third World?" (see below pp. 87-98). Then, examine the material you will be using. What distinctions--if any--do they make in light of the above? and in light of what President Nyerere judges to be "the real problem of the modern world"?

Reformist/Revolutionary Change

Almost all educational materials will exhibit some bias with respect to the degree of change they judge to be needed and the pace of change with which they feel comfortable. Some are content with the status quo, some see the need for reforms, and others call for radical changes. The pace of change will vary accordingly.

Two points should be noted at the start: (1) We often are not living with the injustices we are describing and analyzing in our educational programs. It is quite easy, then, for both armchair reformers and armchair revolutionaries to dictate the degree and pace of changes needed. In this area especially we have to listen to and respect the voices of those who suffer and are oppressed. (2) The terrible violence of injustice pervades particularly the countries of the Third World. The majority of Third World peoples are living virtually in wartime conditions against which one has to measure the actions of reformers and revolutionaries and the inaction of those who support the status quo. It cannot be thought that reformers and those in favor of the status quo are necessarily practicing non-violence, just as it cannot be thought that those who call for revolutionary change are necessarily supporting violence for its own sake. The reality of injustice offers but a few cruel choices to those who daily bear its burden.

Teacher Activity: Read and discuss Denis Goulet's booklet Is Gradualism Dead? Reflections on Order, Change, and Force (available from The Council on Religion and International Affairs, 170 E. 64 Street, New York, N.Y. 10021). Use Goulet's distinctions and conclusions to examine the educational materials you will be using and in the processing of simulations in this Resource Manual such as "The Coffee Game" and "Starpower."

The Brazilian Archbishop Helder Camara is a man who embodies a commitment to non-violence and to the revolutionary change of unjust economic, political, and military structures. His biography, The Violence of a Peacemaker, by José de Broucker (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1970), would be worth reading and discussing.

Personal/Structural Change

This aspect of the question of social change is intimately tied into the analysis that we and our educational materials make of the causes of underdevelopment. We will call for personal conversion if we determine that it is either lack of concern or the personal greed of a minority of selfish individuals that is to blame for the world's injustices. We will opt for structural change if we judge that the apathy and greed we see in individuals is actually embedded in and rewarded by the very structure of our economic-political-social systems.

This tension between individual, personal change and structural change is reflected of late in various Church documents. Theologians speak of the distinction between personal sin and social sin. The latter is defined as:

1. structures that oppress human beings, violate human dignity, stifle freedom, impose gross inequality;

2. situations that promote and facilitate individual acts of selfishness;

3. the complicity of persons who do not take responsibility for the evil being done.

It is probably safe to conclude that our own bias and that of our educational materials is toward personal sin, and, therefore, toward personal conversion. How much easier it is to see and correct individual faults than, for instance, to unravel the rationale and operations of a multinational corporation which daily affects the lives of millions throughout the world.

But the harsh reality of today's world is "unjust systems and structures" and personal greed; "a network of domination, oppression, and abuses" and individual selfishness (Phrases from

Justice in the World).

A Catholic theologian states that "the inspiration, the stimulus, and the orientation for political action which the gospels give are only dialectically active. They are effective indirectly. They foster an awareness of the contrast between the ideal and the present attempts to realize it. But the Christian's criticisms of the present reality need to be mediated through a (scientific) analysis of social structures and a proper (hermeneutical) interpretation of these facts" (Edward C. Schillebeeckx, O.P., "The Christian and Political Engagement," Doctrine and Life 22 (1972), p. 119).

Without such analysis and interpretation of social structures, he concludes that "any talk about the political relevance of the Christian faith seems to me to be naive, even dangerous; it will be the cause of many enormous short circuits!" (Ibid.).

Teacher Activity: Read Justice in the World (See pp. 45-59). Note and compare the references to the need for personal and structural changes.

Read Peter Henriot's article on "The Concept of Social Sin," pp. 63-82 from Sourcebook on Poverty, Development and Justice (available for $1.50 from the Campaign for Human Development-USCC, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005). Compare the concept of social sin to the sections on sin in any religious education materials you may be using.

Play the simulation "Starpower" and observe the interrelation between personal behavior and the structure of the game. The simulation places participants in a competitive structure, with rules which reward aggressiveness and greed. Would the participants act differently if placed in a cooperative situation? In other words, is it in the nature of man to be selfish?

Development/Liberation

Most of the educational materials in this field concern themselves with "development." We speak of "development education," of being "partners in development," and of "theologies of development." We refer, also, to the countries of the Third World as either underdeveloped, less-developed (LDC's), undeveloped, or underdeveloping, depending upon one's point of view. At the same time we refer to major industrialized countries as "developed," though some would question the appropriateness of this term.

But more and more these terms are being rejected--especially by Third World peoples themselves--in favor of the term liberation.

Liberation stands for a more self-directed and self-reliant process, whereas development, for them, connotes direction and domination from outside. Liberation stresses the potential of human beings to take control of their own destinies, while development too often falls victim to technological manipulation and the control of technocratic bureaucracies. Finally, use of the word liberation puts the emphasis on a faster and more thoroughgoing process of social change at the same time as it lets the people themselves determine the why, where, and how of change.

Teacher Activity: Richard Barnet's monograph "Can the United States Promote Foreign Development?" (see pp. 115-53) does not distinguish between development and liberation in just those words, but it does differentiate between the characteristics of each of the two. Read through his article placing a (D) next to passages which reflect a "development" mentality and an (L) next to those which exhibit the characteristics of "liberation" as described above.

The foremost spokesman for what has come to be known as the "theology of liberation" is the Latin American priest Gustavo Gutierrez. His major work in English, A Theology of Liberation (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1973. $4.95), challenges many of the preconceptions under which we might still be laboring in this area. It is well worth the time of any educator in this field.

Ideal/Real

This category is a catchall for a number of varied, but immensely important concepts that coalesce around poles at two opposite extremes.

Around one pole can be found expressions of the ideal: love for all men and women, peace, non-violence, one world family, and global citizenship. Educational programs embodying this perspective of the ideal are usually labeled global education or awareness, peace education, etc.

At the other pole one finds descriptions of the reality of our world: exploitation, oppression, divisions, class conflicts, and struggles for national liberation. The Lutheran Project Report "International Consciousness: Education for Awareness and Action" (see pp. 69-77) spells out the educational dimensions of this reality in terms of "the International View."

The questions that confront us in this tension between the ideal and the real are, perhaps, the hardest of all.

We believe that we do live in a global village and that we should be living in peace as one family under God. And so we challenge the participants in our programs to have a global outlook, to be global citizens.

At the same time the facts of today's world demonstrate that there are rich and there are poor, there are those with power and those without, there are oppressors and oppressed. Some would contend that wealth and power can be transferred to the majority without further violence; others would object that history holds no such precedent. None can deny, though, that a struggle is going on and we are challenged to act. But on which side? Or can we embrace both?

Again our bias is often toward the ideal and with moral exhortations toward that ideal. But how do we answer questions such as these:

1. How can we respond to the call to love all people and, at the same time, take an effective stand against injustice and on the side of the poor and the oppressed?

2. If we support non-violence, what options do we offer to the victims of institutionalized violence?

3. In our peace education programs do we demonstrate a concern for the injustices that breed wars? What attitude do we assume and do we encourage participants in our programs to adopt with regard to injustice, oppression, exploitation? Do we hate injustice? Are we, at the very least, impatient with oppression? Do we forcefully denounce exploitation?

4. Do we distinguish between wars for national liberation, such as those in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, and wars of another nature such as the United States involvement in Southeast Asia or the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia?

5. Do we recognize the need for a period of national independence and consolidation on the part of Third World countries? What are the different understandings of the word "isolationism" in regard to economic and military actions of the United States overseas?

These are, indeed, disturbing questions. They demonstrate that education for justice is like few other subjects in an educational program, in terms of the courageous and, at times even passionate, commitment it demands of participants and educators alike. There are no easy questions and no easy answers.

Teacher Activity: Read Chapter 12 ("Christian Brotherhood and Class Struggle," pp. 272-79) of A Theology of Liberation by Gutierrez (see above) and discuss the conflict between the ideal and the real as he portrays it from a Latin American point of view in the context of class struggle.

Read the Methodist Bishops' Call for Peace and the Self-Development of Peoples (see pp. 61-67) and note the "enemies of peace." Do peace education materials you may be using give full weight to these root causes of war?

Write to the American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016, and sample some of the literature they offer representing the viewpoint of various national liberation groups within the countries of southern Africa. Compare these with government statements from the consulates of Portugal and South Africa.

Positive/Negative

Since the focus of the materials in this Resource Manual is on injustice, it is obvious that the perspective on the countries of the Third World is a rather negative one. The materials dwell, for the most part, on the problems of the undeveloping world.

The peoples in these countries are daily engaged in struggles for life. In lands rich in resources and culture, they suffer and are oppressed. One must remember that the cultural riches of each of these countries are often as foreign to the marginated masses within those cultures as they are to us. How, then, can one dwell on recipes for Indian curry when thousands upon thousands of India's masses are dying of malnutrition. Rather, the first question must be this: Why hunger in a land rich in human and material resources?

Only then is it proper to move on to an appreciation of the positive contributions that representatives of every level of Indian society (given a just society of the future) can and should be making to our own cultural enrichment.

It is entirely fit and proper to explore the riches of other cultures in the primary years and in secondary school courses in literature, music, religion, cooking, and the arts. But education for justice sets for itself other priorities.

Having said this, however, it must be added that we need not dwell on the Third World solely in terms of injustices. In fact, we should round out this rather negative material with presentations of the positive values of other peoples and their social, political, economic, and religious systems. Audiences on all levels in the United States need to be challenged as much by the positive contributions of peoples of the Third World, as they are by the injustices in those areas.

A study on the adequacy of health care services in China, for instance, would not only demonstrate once again the difficulty of speaking of the Third World as if it were a homogeneous unit, but more importantly, it could challenge us to examine more closely our own health care services here in the United States.

The involvement of churches in other lands not only in education for justice but in the actual life and death struggles for justice would be a shocking revelation to most of our fellow countrymen. How much we have yet to learn from the bishops of Latin America and from courageous churchmen in Mozambique, in Brazil, and in Korea!

Teacher Activity: If participants are studying other cultures in their regular course of studies you might encourage them to look especially for examples of poets such as Pablo Neruda, artists such as the Mexican José Clemente Orozco, filmmakers such as the Senegalese Ousmane Sembene, who put their talents at the service of the people and their struggle for justice.

If participants are not studying such subjects in their regular course of studies then both you and they would make a very positive contribution to their overall education by seeing to it that material of this nature is incorporated into the curriculum --on both the primary and secondary school level.

You could set a positive tone right from the start by displaying works of art from other cultures in your meeting room. Have the students redecorate the room from time to time with the emphasis shifting from Asia, to Latin America, to Africa.

Two particularly good resources which combine a deep concern for justice and a celebration of the humanity and cultures of other peoples are

1. the Maryknoll Magazine ($1 a year from Maryknoll, N.Y. 10545) appropriate for high school age and older;

2. Share magazine ($1 a year from Maryknoll, N.Y. 10545), designed especially for older primary and junior high school age students.

The films "Campamento," "Sigaboy" and "Of People and a Vision" (all available on a free-loan basis from World Horizon Films, Maryknoll, N.Y. 10545) are excellent examples of the positive sides of communities of peoples in three Third World countries---Chile, the Philippines, and Tanzania, who take their destinies into their own hands. Preview these for possible use in your course of studies.

* * * * * * *

Other tensions, though important, need only be briefly noted at this point.

Objective/Subjective

Some of the materials in this Resource Manual focus on the individual participant and how he or she sees the world. In a sense the participants generate this very real content by surfacing their perceptions, values, biases, and stereotypes.

Other material describes and analyzes the state of the world--apart from how the participants might see that reality. The participant then measures his or her own subjective perceptions against that objective reality.

Neither the subjective nor the objective reality can be overlooked.

Justice/Charity

The tension between these two dimensions of our Christian belief is well-treated in Module #7 of the Justice in the World primer prepared by the Justice and Peace Division of the USCC and included in Section Three of this Resource Manual, pp. 235-44.

Political/Economic

This tension reflects two approaches to the analysis of undevelopment. One would say that the problem is fundamentally an economic and technical one, while the other would contend that the problem is first and foremost one of power, that is, a political and psychological problem.

Richard Barnet draws the distinctions between these two approaches quite sharply in his monograph, "Can the United States Promote Foreign Development?" (see Section Two, pp. 115-53) and indicates which option he prefers.

The educational materials you will be using (written materials, as well as films, simulations, etc.) should be examined to determine which approach they favor.

ORGANIZATIONS--PERSPECTIVES AND INTERESTS

As individual authors and individual collections of educational material reflect differing perspectives and interests, so too do the various organizations in this field. They thread their way through the tensions listed above picking and choosing those dimensions which lend support to their unique point of view.

Thus, the Population Crisis Committee sees the world in terms of too many people; a business-supported group such as the Overseas Development Council sees the world in terms of U.S. business interests; and the U.S. State Department sees the world in terms of U.S. foreign policy objectives. Each organization acts true to its charter and prepares educational materials accordingly.

Organizations from the Red Cross to the World Bank claim to be acting in the best interests of the poor. They use the same words: development, global village, crisis, revolutionary changes. They are engaged in making their supporters or participants in their educational programs more "globally aware" and more responsible.

THE CHRISTIAN EDUCATOR--PERSPECTIVES AND INTERESTS

But we are a community of Christians engaged in education for justice. What is our unique perspective? What are the interests we represent? Where do they differ from, where do they coincide with the efforts of others?

EDUCATION FOR JUSTICE

A CHRISTIAN VIEWPOINT

In their document Justice in the World the Roman Synod of bishops stated that education for justice will "awaken a critical sense, which will lead us to reflect on the society in which we live and on its values; it will make men ready to renounce these values when they cease to promote justice for all men." With an allegiance only to the gospel of Christ, we are free to be critical of causes, of U.S. business interests, and of U.S. foreign policy, if we judge any of them to be in conflict with the promotion of justice for all men and women.

DEFINITIONS OF EDUCATION FOR JUSTICE

But this is easier said than done. Who is to define "justice"? The people of Chile claim to be acting justly when they nationalize U.S. copper companies, and the copper companies, in turn, demand a just compensation for their properties. Migrant workers in California contend that justice is on their side, while the growers say otherwise.

And who is to define the content of educational programs for justice? The Scriptures and various Church documents offer helpful leads, but, in the end, it will be you and your colleagues who will determine the content for your programs--it will be you and participants in your programs who will struggle together to discern and respond to the demands for justice in each particular case.

TOWARD A DEFINITION

In this spirit and keeping in mind the tensions described above, we invite you and your colleagues to share in the actual formulation of a definition of education for justice. There will inevitably be some tension between our individual, personal conception of the content of education for justice and the shared perspectives and interests we support as a community of Christians. All the better, then, if you can work with a group of fellow educators to reach a consensus on a working definition of education for justice in terms of the following.

THE ELEMENTS

Motives: the reasons why you are introducing these concerns into your educational programs (religious education or otherwise);

Objectives: what attitudes, abilities, and knowledge are to be worked for, and what action is to follow;

Predispositions: what do participants and educators already have by way of notions, prejudices, etc., relevant to the content of education for justice;

Process: which specific techniques and materials from this *Resource Manual* could be used with the participants to move toward your desired objectives--keeping in mind your motives and the predispositions of all involved.

TWO STORIES: THE GOOD SAMARITAN AND JUAN DIAZ

To assist you in the determination of your definitions we present two stories designed to give you some feel for the reality, possibilities, and boundaries of the field. The first, with apologies to Luke, is an extended adaptation of his story of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:30). The second, the story of Juan Diaz is excerpted from the Christopher booklet, "Coffee: The Rules of the Game and You" by Thomas P. Fenton (Reprinted with the kind permission of The Christophers. Copies of the 26-page booklet are available from The Christophers, 12 E. 48 Street, New York, N.Y. 10017 for an offering of $2 per 100).

THE GOOD SAMARITAN

The Story

Imagine that you are an educator living in Samaria around the time of Christ. You receive an urgent communication from a friend of yours in Judea and it opens your eyes to a whole new world. It reads:

Dear Friend,

My apologies for not writing to you in over a year. I often wanted to, but the work I've gotten involved in keeps me going day and night. As you read on, I'm sure you'll understand.

It was a little over a year now that I first traveled the road from Jerusalem to Jericho. Just a few miles outside of Jerusalem I happened upon a young man beaten up, robbed, and left for dead by the side of the road. I patched up some of his wounds and then took him to an inn just down the road.

The innkeeper was quite a prosperous fellow. He laughed when he saw the man on my beast. "I'm not one to turn aside the chance for a few extra denarii," he said, "but you'll soon be in the poor house if you stop to care for every poor soul you find along the side of the road. I got over that a long time ago." Others in the inn joined in the laughter as we dragged the poor man inside. "Why, you're just a Samaritan! He's one of our own and we don't bother with him. Why should you?" "It's always been that way," another added. Nevertheless, they helped me get the man settled. The sight of a small purse of money helped the innkeeper forget his prejudices and he nursed the man back to health.

But, I have to say, he was right. I am almost in the poor house because there were more and more casualties along the road. There wasn't a week that went by without at least three or four trips to the inn with more poor souls. You and I never saw so many sorry sights back in Samaria. The open sores, the lumps and bruises, the broken bones--you can't imagine the horror of it all!

I'm happy to report that after months of pressure I've been able to wear down the innkeeper and his callous friends. They have added a few rooms onto the inn to accommodate the newcomers and some even give me a hand transporting the wounded and providing for their recovery. All in all I get a great deal of satisfaction from the work--as difficult as it is.

But funds and energies are running low. And so I turn to you, dear friend. You are educating young people in Samaria. You are in a position to help. This story must be told. We desparately need help.

I'm sure you don't need any coaching from me in figuring out what and how to teach. I urge you to do whatever you can.

Your friend,

Thoughts on an Educational Approach

What *would* you teach? Your young students might be totally unaware of the land of Judea, to say nothing of this particular tragic situation in that foreign country. Some may have picked up some of the prejudices of their parents and may harbor a hatred of all foreigners, especially Judeans. Some just may not care about the whole situation. Others may counter with: "So what! We have poor people here in Samaria too." .

It is obvious that, as an educator, you would have a lot of remedial and preparatory work to do opening up the world to your students, challenging their prejudices, and encouraging their concern for all in need. But what would you do after that? Suppose you had students who wanted to learn about the situation described by your friend. What then would you teach?

How you would proceed from there would depend upon whether or not you corrected an error that your friend in Judea overlooked--and that is the bandits! Your friend is doing very necessary work, but he is simply patching up the wounds inflicted by others. If he fails to stop the bandits who are responsible for this situation in the first place, he will be forever rescuing people from the sides of that road.

Analysis of the Tensions

Look again at the various tensions described above and choose from them the characteristics that would mark two different educational programs: one that would omit any but a passing reference to the bandits; and the other which saw the bandits to be the principal cause of the situation your friend described.

In each case, would the educational material:

1. be descriptive or analytical;
2. focus on all Judeans and all Samaritans or make distinctions between those who merely stood by and those primarily responsible, between the victims and the perpetrators;
3. suggest reforms or radical changes;
4. suggest personal or structural changes;
5. stress changes coming from outside or the possibilities for change in the victims themselves;
6. stress the rights of man to good health and safe passage or begin from the actual reality and explore the options for change;
7. stress the positive aspects of Judean culture or the injustices of the present situation;
8. begin with how the Samaritan students see the situation or the reality itself, as best one can know it;
9. emphasize the charitable aspects or the need for justice;
10. suggest political or economic changes.

Conclusions

If you were to emphasize the importance of the bandits in your educational materials and programs--

- you could call attention to the fact that it is easy to leave them out of the picture and get caught up in the day-to-day work, in planning for the future, in the hostilities between those at the inn and the victims;

- you would emphasize that information about the identity and operations of the bandits was as important--if not more important--than further descriptions of the victims;

- you would stress how vital it is to get at the cause of things (in this case, the bandits) before, or at least while, you attend to the symptoms;

- you could show that changes have to come from within Judea and have to come from those who--from the appearance of things--would seem to be too weak and powerless to take things into their own hands, that is, the victims themselves;

- you could call attention to the fact that your friend would no longer be in a position to direct the operation; rather he would have to decide whether or not to support the victimized Judeans as they rose to stop the bandits themselves;

- rather than arousing feelings of pity or even guilt in your students, you could try to get them to feel some solidarity with the victimized Judeans. Can your students appreciate the struggle of these people? Do they see bandits at work in their society? Do they see themselves as victims in any ways? How? Why not?

Luke's story of the Good Samaritan may be helpful, but it is, after all, an unreal situation and, thus, limited in its applicability. The very real situation of Juan Diaz, however, offers us an opportunity to examine the dimensions of each of the tensions above in more realistic detail.

What are the parallels between the story of Juan Diaz and the extended story of the Good Samaritan? The "rules of the game" are the bandits in the life of Juan. How do they affect your appreciation of his plight? What would an educational program look like if you left out any consideration of the "rules of the game"?

THE STORY OF JUAN DIAZ

Juan Diaz is a coffee worker in the Central American Republic of El Salvador. His daily struggle for mere survival is hardly the TV commercial image of life on the hacienda.

Juan and three of his five daughters spend long, hard days in the coffee fields of Montenango. On a good day, Juan picks enough coffee to earn $1.44; and his daughters, a total of $3.35. With $1.24 of these wages, Juan and his wife Paula are able to feed their family for a day. In bad times, Juan and his daughters make as little as 56 cents a day--less than half the money they need just to eat.

At the end of the six-week coffee season, Juan does odd jobs around the hacienda--provided there is work to be done. He can earn about 90 cents there for an eight-hour day. Paula de Diaz supplements her husband's earnings by working in the market. When people have enough money to purchase the tomatoes, cabbages, and other homegrown vegetables she sells, Paula can make about 40 cents a day.

The hacienda provides a simple dwelling for the Diaz family, but no modern facilities. Candles are used for light, water has to be hauled from a well, and furnishings consist of little more than a table and some chairs. Aside from a dress and shoes for each of the girls during coffee season, the family has not been able to buy much else in the last five years. Whatever money doesn't go for food is spent for visits to the health clinic (40 cents each time), the high interest on bills at the company store, expenses for the children in school and for the burial fee of Juan's father who died last year.

"You know, I look forward to a better life for my children," Juan says. "I dream that if it is possible--if I can possibly afford it--my children will not follow in my footsteps, that they will break out of this terrible way of life. But the money problems we face every day blot out those dreams. I feel bad, nervous, I don't sleep nights worrying about how I'll get something for them to eat. I think and think but don't find any answers. I work hard; my wife and daughters do too. We all do. But still we suffer. Why?"

Many in the past have offered answers to Juan's question. Some say: "He's poor because he's not industrious enough; he's lazy; he's uneducated." Some assert: "He's backward, underdeveloped," perhaps "inferior by nature." Some blame Juan's poverty on the scarcity of natural resources or on the lack of land or modern tools and fertilizers. Some look to the capriciousness of nature--floods, frosts, droughts; and some blame God or fate.

Others place the burden of responsibility for Juan's condition on what may be called the "rules of the game." The "game" encompasses all the national and international systems (economic, political, societal, military) which govern the life of Juan and the development of his country.

Do these rules of the game in fact account for Juan's plight? Examine them and decide for yourself.

What are the rules of the game?

Who makes them? Did Juan or the majority of people in El Salvador play any part in determining them?

Who benefits from them?

How responsible are they for Juan's chronic poverty?

Though Juan Diaz doesn't have the time to be preoccupied with questions like these, let us imagine that he does. Let us picture ourselves alongside him as he looks out at Hacienda Santa Barbara; at his country, El Salvador; and at the world. How would we see the rules of the game functioning in each of these areas?

The World Through Juan's Eyes

The Plantation--Hacienda Santa Barbara: More tragic than the physical conditions of Juan and his family is the fact that they can do little at present to alter their situation. Juan is not bound to the hacienda by physical chains, but he might as well be, for he has not the freedom to exercise any significant control over most things that affect his life.

Juan might try to assume some control over his situation by forming a union with his fellow workers to secure higher wages and increased benefits. But he fears that such agitation would result in his speedy replacement by one of his many fellow countrymen who are begging for any kind of employment. In addition, the attempt to organize a union would have to take account of the apathy and defeatism induced by life on the hacienda and the belief held by many that "this is the way life is supposed to be."

If Juan could pay his bills and save a bit of money, he might leave the plantation and seek employment elsewhere. But he has never had the chance to develop other skills or to get the necessary education. And he would soon find out that life for those who flee to the city is no brighter than it is at Hacienda Santa Barbara.

The Country--El Salvador: When Juan looks at his own country, he finds that here, too, the rules are weighted against him. A minority of his countrymen own and control most of the wealth and income, land, industry, political and military power.

For example, one-third of all the wealth and income in El Salvador is concentrated in the hands of 5 percent of the population. A family in this sector receives an annual income twelve times greater than what the poor two-thirds of the people in El Salvador can expect to earn in a year. And the very poorest 10 percent of the population has an annual per capita income of only one-thirtieth of what the upper 5 percent receives.

This imbalance in the distribution of wealth and income carries over to the consumption of goods and services. It is not the poor who are using the largest proportion of the wealth and natural resources of El Salvador and other countries of Latin

America. Those who are better off consume disproportionately more. One affluent person in El Salvador consumes as much as do thirteen of his poorer countrymen.

This imbalance in consumption affects not only El Salvador's resources but also the goods and services it imports. As the wealthy minority develops more of a taste for consumer goods, it diverts a considerable share of El Salvador's financial resources towards the purchase of cars, TV sets, and other items suited to its personal needs and desires.

Not surprisingly, tax evasion, fraud, foreign bank accounts, and the misappropriation of government funds often go hand in hand with these concentrations of wealth.

The distribution of farmland in El Salvador is weighted in the same way. The wealthy one percent of the agricultural population controls more than 40 percent of the arable land, whereas only 11 percent of the land is shared among the poorer 78 percent of the agricultural population. The poor must either work on the lands of the rich or eke out a living on small, unproductive plots of ground.

It is not uncommon for the ruling groups in countries like El Salvador to denounce as "subversive activities" any efforts to alter the rules which ensure the permanence of their economic, political, and social privileges. Such resistance to change results in a wasteful expenditure on military training and weapons. In other instances, it leads to harsh repression.

The World: Juan Diaz knows something about what he is up against at home. Although he may not be aware of the workings of the economic and political systems external to his country, they too affect him deeply.

In fact, such exterior forces serve to support the internal situation in which he finds himself. And they extract from his country and the rest of Latin America the wealth and natural resources of his people. This has been so since earliest colonial times.

The Rules of The Game - Yesterday

Despite the coming of independence in the nineteenth century, the more industrially advanced countries wielded enormous power over the newly independent Latin American nations because:

1. they dominated the international systems of trade;
2. they controlled the international monetary system;
3. they supplied most of the new investment capital; and
4. they used their political and military power to preserve

the status quo.

Thus the flow of resources went to Europe, and the way was opened for manufacturers to enter the markets of Latin America.

The Rules of the Game - Today

The patterns set hundreds of years ago are not terribly different today. But now other countries of Western Europe, as well as the Communist countries, Japan, and the United States have come into the picture. By means of trade, financial investments, and economic assistance, these nations pursue their own ends--and with some unfortunate consequences for Latin America and its people.

It is not necessary to assume that the rules of the game of international economic and political systems were intentionally designed to handicap the poor. Nor is it necessary to attribute such lopsided relationships to malice on the part of the wealthy.

In this as in other matters, most of us have probably never even stopped to consider the possibility that the very arrangements we find so comfortable and profitable may, for others, look (and be) quite oppressive.

It is time, in other words, to take a more objective look at the global systems--to examine who bears the costs as well as who reaps the benefits.

Let us, for a moment, examine the dynamics of world trade, foreign financial investments, and assistance in terms of the relationship between Latin America and the United States. (Much the same could be said of other wealthy countries in their relations with poorer ones.)

Though other primary commodities (e.g., sugar, tea or cocoa) could have been taken as illustrations, we shall discuss coffee, partly because the morning cup of coffee is a pleasure shared by so many throughout the world, rich and poor alike. And it provides a useful example of how the patterns of world trade bind the peoples of all nations together.

World Trade

El Salvador and twelve other Latin American countries emerged from their colonial past with "one-crop economies." They depend on the sale of a single commodity for over 40 percent of their export earnings. Five of these countries, including El Salvador, depend on the sale of coffee alone for a substantial proportion of these earnings.

Coffee, however, makes up only one percent of the volume of world trade; and, to make matters worse, it is not an item of absolute importance to an industrialized economy.

But for Juan Diaz and the 350,000 other coffee workers in El Salvador, the price of coffee on the world market can literally mean the difference between life and death.

Price: Because of its heavy dependency on this single crop for its export earnings, El Salvador is anxious to sell as much of its coffee as it can, and for the highest price it can get. It finds, though, that the price of primary products such as coffee and the quantity that will be purchased on the world market are beyond its control. The buyers, in effect, tell the sellers, through the interplay of market forces, not only how much coffee they wish to purchase but also how much they are willing to pay.

The International Coffee Agreement of 1968 has been effective in preventing wild fluctuations in the price of coffee. To that extent, it has been beneficial all around. But the Pan American Coffee Bureau still estimates that a decline of even one cent per pound in the price of "green coffee" means an annual loss of about $65 million for the coffee-producing countries.

Volume: In an attempt to keep the price up and the competition fair, the quota system of the International Coffee Agreement has set a ceiling on the amount that any one country can sell on the world market.

Below that ceiling, however, the volume of coffee sales still varies according to the fluctuations of the open market.

With the growth of other coffee-producing areas--notably in Africa--Latin America's share of the coffee market has declined throughout the post-war period. Its portion of the U.S. coffee market alone has fallen from 97 percent in 1950 to 63.5 percent in 1970.

Terms of Trade*: While the underdeveloped nations have little besides primary products to sell, 79 percent of what they purchase from abroad consists of manufactured goods. The steadily increasing prices of these goods from industrialized nations are due partly to inflation and party to increased wages resulting from successful efforts by unionized labor in industrialized countries.

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*Terms of trade: The relationship between the prices of goods imported and the prices of those exported. For most underdeveloped nations, there is a widening gap from year to year between these earnings from the sale of exports and their expenditures for imports.

Economic improvement in the industrialized nations sometimes works to the detriment of the underdeveloped nations.

For example, in 1969, Latin Americans were paying 16.4 percent more for the manufactured goods imported from the United States than they were in 1960. Over the same period, the price for the coffee they exported to the U.S. dropped by 2.6 percent. A tractor which in 1960 would have cost El Salvador 165 bags of coffee actually costs about 316 bags today.

El Salvador has to work harder to export more goods just to keep up with where it was yesterday. But it is restrained by the Agreement from exporting any more coffee, and there is little else it can profitably sell on the world market.

Transportation Services: In 1955, Latin America's share of merchant shipping was 4.1 percent of the world total. It has now fallen to 2.7 percent. The continent must rely on the developed countries for the shipping and insurance of their exports and imports. This dependency, in respect to the import dollar, adds up to 8.3 cents that Latin America could have earned as revenue but didn't.

. . . . .

If we summarize the dynamics of present systems of world trade, we can see where the competitive edge lies:

Developed Nations	Underdeveloped Nations
...have the industrial and agricultural capacity to offer a wide variety of products for sale;	...can offer only one or two primary commodities, plus limited manufactured and semi-manufactured products;
...can alter their production of manufactured goods to meet fluctuations on the world market without severe economic results;	...have less flexibility with the growth of a commodity such as coffee, which takes years from the time seedlings are planted until trees bear fruit;
...maintain control of the means to manufacture and process raw materials;	...are less able to process the resources extracted from their lands and must buy many processed goods from abroad even when made from their own resources;

...often receive a rising price for their exports;	...find that the purchasing power of their agricultural exports is dropping, or at least fluctuates from year to year;
...have a number of buyers to choose from.	...are locked into a dependency on the developed countries alone.

In addition, the industrialized nations:

--are producing synthetic substitutes for raw materials they once imported from poorer countries;

--can more effectively use tariffs and trade quotas to protect their products and industries;

--have export and shipping industries heavily subsidized by government foreign aid revenue and by other policies;

--maintain, through international agreements, a virtual monopoly on transportation, insurance, and banking services.

The International Monetary System

A minorty of nations and a small number of corporations within those nations maintain the rules that govern the international monetary system, capital investments in underdeveloped countries, and control of goods and services in these lands (Latin America, in this instance).

The world monetary crisis of 1971-1972 has cast doubts on the stability of the U.S. dollar and has had far-reaching effects on the currencies of other nations.

Steps to be taken in this grave situation were discussed at meetings of members of the International Monetary Fund. But the actual decisions were made by the ministers of the "Group of Ten," the ten wealthiest and most powerful nations of the non-Communist world. In the deliberations that really counted, no one represented the interests of the underdeveloped nations. This gives some indication of the priorities involved in the international monetary system.

There are strong fears that one of the results of agreement among the Group of Ten--that of devaluing the U.S. dollar--could cause "a possible loss, to the developing countries, of many million dollars from their reserves in effective purchasing power" (Alliance for Progress WEEKLY NEWSLETTER, Jan. 3, 1972).

The countries of Latin America--as well as of Africa and most of Asia--have, at present, little or no say in matters that may determine their economic stability for decades to come.

Financial Investments

Another strength of the developed nations is the control they exercise over the economies of Latin America through financing.

Among today's "descendants" of the colonial powers are multinational corporations. Undeniably, they employ large numbers of workers in underdeveloped countries and make substantial outlays for their housing, schooling, and health services. But multinational corporations use their wealth and power:

1. to acquire, often in partnerships with Latin businessmen, many of the important new growth industries in Latin America;

2. to influence the pattern of Latin American development so that the style of life resembles that of the now industrialized countries, at least among those who have money and political power;

3. to develop overseas markets for goods--such as parts and equipment--which are manufactured in the developed lands;

4. to ensure that they will capture a share of the growth profits which derive from the future development in the region (which, admittedly, they facilitate).

In return for certain benefits, the human resources of Juan Diaz and people like him are employed by these corporations mainly in agriculture and mining. The decisions as to how best to use these human and physical resources are largely in the hands of foreigners.

Aside from the profit factor, U.S. and other foreign investors benefit in several ways from this arrangement.

First, control over raw materials and other resources vital to the industry of the U.S. and other developed nations is maintained. Dr. Preston Cloud, a geologist from the University of Los Angeles at Santa Barbara, has suggested that within twenty years the United States will be depleted of many needed raw materials. He added: "We will then be entirely dependent on the poor countries for these and other vital resources."

Second, the markets of the poor countries are kept open for U.S. manufactured goods and for the services of U.S. technicians, educators, and management personnel.

Latin American Partners: Investors from the industrialized nations have achieved a large measure of control over the continent's development in cooperation with Latin businessmen.

These Latin American associates, who find the relationship financially rewarding, act on behalf of foreign-owned corporations to provide for licensing arrangements, beneficial tariff regulations, tax incentives, plentiful non-union labor, and to aid in directing the tastes of their countrymen toward luxury consumer items.

Latin American companies which choose to forego this partnership with overseas interests find themselves at a serious disadvantage--they have not the economic resources to compete successfully. And if such competition leads to rising prices and falling wages, it is people like Juan who suffer most.

This junior partnership can also work to the detriment of people like Juan when it drains native talent, as well as educational and technical skills, away from needed national development into the making and selling of more profitable luxury items.

Industrialization: For whom should the productive capacities of any nation operate--for the elite or for the many? Too often foreign investment capital guides a country's industry to serve the consumer tastes of the wealthy minority.

It is true that, in the short run, there is a greater economic return from this minority. But in the long run, a healthy national--and even international--economy can be achieved only when the majority within every country participates in securing the fruits of their labor and productive growth.

Services and Utilities: Foreign capital has also been able to assure the construction of transportation and communication services that primarily meet its own needs and only secondarily meet the national or regional needs of Latin America.

Roads and railways, for example, were designed not so much for the benefit of the vast majority of the people as for the easy passage to port cities of resources sought by foreign corporations.

Cultural patterns are affected too. Television is largely dominated by programming from the United States. TV promotes consumer spending, advertises superfluous products, entertains and distracts. Too seldom are programs designed to help someone like Juan come to an appreciation of his own cultural heritage; to teach literacy; or to promote social objectives, such as health education and community development.

Financial Assistance

When El Salvador turns to the industrialized countries for financial assistance--"foreign aid"--it finds that here too the competitive edge lies with the developed nations.

Loans--Not Grants: Most of the financial assistance is given, not in the form of outright grants, but rather as loans repayable to the donor with interest.

The fact that "foreign aid" is beneficial to the donor nation was underscored in 1965 by Eugene R. Black, at that time president and chairman of the World Bank:

"1. Foreign aid provides a substantial and immediate market for U.S. goods and services.

"2. Foreign aid stimulates the development of new overseas markets for U.S. companies.

"3. Foreign aid orients national economies toward a free enterprise system in which the U.S. private firms can prosper."

The Financial Assistance Dollar: How is the "foreign aid" dollar spent?

--About 42 percent of the aid given by the United States is "development assistance."

--About 52 percent is labeled "security assistance."

--The remaining 6 percent is earmarked for "welfare and emergency relief."

A forthright explanation of how this money ($3.1 billion total in 1972) is spent was given by William S. Gaud when he was head of the Agency for International Development (AID) in 1968:

"The biggest single misconception about the foreign aid program is that we send money abroad. We don't. Foreign aid consists of American equipment, raw materials, expert services, and food--all provided for specific development projects which we ourselves review and approve...Ninety-three percent of AID funds are spent directly in the United States to pay for these things. Just last year (1967) some 4,000 American firms in fifty states received $1.3 billion in AID funds for products supplied as part of the foreign aid program."

In effect, "development assistance" is a subsidy to U.S. industries, exporters, and shippers.

Of "security assistance," most of this never leaves our country either. Furthermore, the U.S., like many other nations, uses military aid to further its own political objectives. It is used to maintain a status quo that strengthens the position of privileged minorities and provides a "safe climate" for outside business interests.

It is not hard to see how little attention is paid to the status of Juan Diaz and his prospects for a better life.

The comparatively minor share of our "foreign aid" programs that gets through to people like Juan--and whatever benefit reaches him--is far outweighed by this fact: Latin America as a whole is worse off economically today than it was ten years ago.

Looking at the total picture of trade, investment, and aid, the Latin American countries in the period 1958-1962 were able, with their export earnings, to pay 45 percent of the costs of their foreign debts. According to the most recently available estimates (1970), Latin America was able to cover only 25 percent of these costs by this means.

Putting it another way, in the years 1958-1962, Latin America's balance of payment deficit averaged $1.149 billion. In 1970, because of the factors discussed in the preceding pages, the external deficit was $2.794 billion--or 2-1/2 times greater.

"Still We Suffer. Why?"

Juan Diaz and El Salvador are typical of economically underdeveloped--or Third World--peoples and nations. There are, of course, vast differences between some which are small and poor in resources and others which are large and resource-rich. But, in varying degrees, they share the common characteristics of chronic impoverishment and powerlessness.

To give a full explanation for the downtrodden situation of Third World peoples--and the millions of poor in the U.S. and other developed nations--is beyond the scope of this booklet. Many complex factors would have to be treated--including historical, political, cultural, and religious ones.

Our purpose is more modest. Whatever the validity of other explanations, we have attempted to outline how the rules of the game (the present systems of trade, investments, and aid) are weighted overwhelmingly in favor of a few--the few who, in fact, make the rules. This comparative minority prospers while the majority, like Juan, makes little or no progress.

Archbishop Helder Camara of Brazil, an eloquent spokesman for the poor and oppressed, stated the case forcefully: "What is to stop the developed world from moving farther apart from the underdeveloped world? Today, 85 percent of the world's population lives in poverty to make possible the luxury of the comfortable 15 percent. Tomorrow, it will be 90 percent catering to the luxury of the 10 percent."

Whether and to what extent the prosperity of the minority flows from the poverty of the many can and should be further analyzed. What cannot be denied is that the gap between the two segments of our world is widening from year to year.

And Juan Diaz's tragic question remains: "But still we suffer, Why?"

AN ANALYSIS

We will examine the story of Juan Diaz in light of the ten tensions described above. Our intent in doing so is to illustrate the way in which one could read and analyze the story of Juan Diaz and from such an analysis formulate a working definition of education for justice. The particular perspective and interests of the author are quite clear in this analysis.

Descriptive/Analytical

As a doctor must go beyond the mere observation and treatment of symptoms to a diagnosis, so too must we go deeper than the tragic realities of the daily life of Juan and his family to an analysis of why they are suffering.

Of all the possible diagnoses we contend that the most fundamental is the "rules of the game" as they are described above. How and why these rules work to oppress Juan and, we believe, to oppress the aged, the underemployed, and the minorities in our own country (be they black, white, brown, etc.) is often beyond our immediate comprehension. But if we are serious about shaping economic and political systems that are just for all, then we must go beyond description to find the how and the why.

U.S.-Third World/Rich-Poor

From both the factual and pedagogical points of view we think it a serious mistake not to keep in the forefront of our teaching the divisions between rich and poor in El Salvador and in the United States. The rules of the game function primarily for the benefit of the powerful minority in both countries. Conversely we believe that they work to the disadvantage-- albeit to varying degrees-of the majorities in both countries.

If we overlook this we find ourselves pitting the ordinary worker in this country against Juan Diaz--as if they were enemies. True, the U.S. worker benefits from U.S. control of the coffee market and of shipping, banking, and industry, but that is far different from saying that he or she directs the functioning of those systems.

In our educational programs we have to seriously explore with the ordinary U.S. citizens and their children who will be the participants in those programs the alternatives to systems which force us to fight for survival. Are we able to build economic and political systems which function for the benefit of the majority--be they citizens of El Salvador or the United States?

Reformist/Revolutionary Change

No amount of tinkering with the rules of the game will ever substantially affect Juan's life. Reforms may ease his burdens, but they are also effective in buying off any inclinations he might have to critically examine and radically change the rules which govern his life.

Radical (in its original sense of "root") and revolutionary changes are needed in the present maldistribution of wealth and power. This means political, as well as economic or technological changes. This means justice, as well as charity.

Reforms are not sufficient to meet the needs of Juan and the millions like him. Increasing the present efforts in trade, aid, and monetary policies will not help. Neither can it be thought that a higher price paid for coffee in the U.S. is any type of a solution.

And so, we, with Juan, must search out the ways of revolutionary change. The alternative--more tragic for him than for us --is the continuing violence of the present order.

In his speech at Maryknoll, New York, "Division Is the Problem of the Third World," President Nyerere of Tanzania issued "a call to the Church to recognize the need for social revolution, and to play a leading role in it. The Church, he said, "should be one of the group of nations and institutions which reject domination by the rich for the benefit of the rich. And it should be the function of Church members in wealthy countries to enlarge the group opposed to international exploitation of the poor and oppression of the weak" (see below, p. 97).

Personal/Structural Change

If Juan were lazy this personal failing of his would be obvious and relatively easy to correct. Or, if one or two greedy persons were violating some economic or political rules to oppress Juan, the actions that one could take would be clearcut--and, in that respect, very satisfying. But education and action for justice don't permit such an easy out.

To the extent that these structures work their effects in the personal lives of individuals (inducing apathy in Juan and inviting the greed of others), personal changes must be made. But, if the rules of the game, the very structures of the economic and political order, "frustrate authentic self-determination, manipulate power relationships and disturb the essential ingredients of international community" (Statement of the Methodist bishops, see below p. 62), then it is structures that must be changed.

This is no easy task. But it is quite clearly the direction in which we must move.

Development/Liberation

What does liberation mean in the case of Juan Diaz? Basically it means that he and the majority like him begin to assume control over their own lives. They begin to write their own history. They are no longer kicked around by the rules of economic and political systems which function for the few. Nor are they "developed" by the reformist policies of others.

In his Call to Action (see below, pp. 79-85) Pope Paul states that "the most important duty in the realm of justice is to allow each country to promote its own development, within the framework of a cooperation free from any spirit of domination, whether economic or political" (p. 80).

Were it not for the example of countries, once as poor and as dominated as El Salvador, and peasants, once as oppressed as Juan, who have broken the shackles of economic and political domination, we would have to judge the Pope's words to be hopelessly idealistic and Juan's possibilities for a liberating self-determination to be grossly naive.

Ideal/Real

We believe it better to begin with the reality of Juan's life, with the terribly complex workings of international economic and political systems, rather than with moral exhortations about justice and peace.

Get a feel for the violence in Juan's life; look at the world from his point of view; struggle with an answer to his question, "Still we suffer. Why?"; begin analyzing the rules of the game; and then ponder these realities in the light of the gospel ideals.

Positive/Negative

In the context of our search for the network of injustices in Juan's life we are obviously focusing only on the problems. This we must do because this is the overwhelming reality in his life.

Two positive notes may help in this search: (1) The first is to keep the stress on the fact that this is a very live human being that you are concerned about (It may be of interest to know that Juan's real name is Juan Rodas and he lives in the town of Soyapango, just outside the capital of El Salvador). Juan is a terribly hard worker; he loves his wife, Paula; he treasures the few moments he has each day with his children; he has his personal failings, as well as his strengths. Never let the discussion drift too far away from human beings like Juan. (2) The second is to compare Juan's situation with that of his counterpart in a country like China. Whatever may be our personal hesitancies about the People's Republic of China, we cannot deny the revolutionary changes that have taken place in the lives of hundreds of millions of peasants who once lived in situations far more tragic than Juan's. We do all in our programs a great disservice if we dwell only on the negative and fail to search for and recommend the positive wherever we find it and however challenging it may be to us personally.

As for the remaining tensions, the emphasis is on:

the objective reality, rather than subjective perceptions;

what is due to Juan in justice, rather than only in charity; and

the political changes (in the sense of radical redistribution of wealth and power) rather than mere technological transfers or economic reforms.

A DEFINITION OF EDUCATION FOR JUSTICE

These are, quite frankly, our biases, our perspectives, and the interests we support. They lead us to underline the following phrases from Justice in the World in the formulation of our definition of "education for justice." Education for justice comprises:

1. an examination of the objective reality of our world, particularly the "set of injustices which constitute the nucleus of today's problems" (see below p. 48);

2. a feeling of solidarity with the "silent, indeed voiceless, victims of injustice" (see below p. 49) and an appreciation of their rights to "liberation through development" and "a certain responsible nationalism" (see below p. 48);

3. a "recognition of sin in its individual and social manifestations" (see below p. 54) and an awareness of "the objective obstacles which social structures place in the way of conversion of hearts, or even of the realization of the ideal of charity" (see below p. 47);

4. the development of "a critical sense, which will lead us to reflect on the society in which we live and on its values; and which will make men ready to renounce these values when they cease to promote justice for all men" (see below p. 54);

5. a commitment, shared with those who are "the victims of the interplay of international economic forces," to put an end "to the systematic barriers and vicious circles which oppose the collective advance toward enjoyment of adequate remuneration of the factors of production, and which strengthen the situation of discrimination with regard to access to opportunities and collective services from which a great part of the people are now excluded" (see below pp. 47-48);

6. the realization that "the Church has the right, indeed the duty, to proclaim justice on the social, national, and international level, and to denounce instances of injustice, when the fundamental rights of man and his very salvation demand it" (see below p. 51);

Working from this definition we would formulate a "course of studies" that would be quite similar to the FAO model in Section Four.

Evaluate our definition and the FAO model as you do all others in the course of your study and teaching. The blank course of studies model in Section Four offers you and your colleagues an opportunity to formulate a definition and determine the content of education for justice in accord with your perspectives and the interests you support.

SECTION TWO

BACKGROUND READINGS

The eight readings in this section were chosen because they challenge, shed new light on, and broaden the boundaries of our present understanding of the content and methodology of education for justice.

The eight readings are

1. Justice in the World. This statement of the 1971 Synod of Roman Catholic Bishops deals with "Justice and World Society," "The Gospel Message and the Mission of the Church," and "The Practice of Justice." Copies of the 20-page document are available from the Publications Office of the U.S. Catholic Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Reprinted with permission of the USCC.

2. The Bishops' Call for Peace and the Self-Development of Peoples. This 16-page statement, adopted by the General Conference of the United Methodist Church in April 1972, discusses "The Nature of Peace," "The Enemies of Peace," and "The Sources of Peace." Copies of the pamphlet, as well as additional resources, are available from the Service Department, Coordinating Committee on Peace, 100 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002 at a cost of 15¢ each; 10 or more, 10¢ each, $8 per 100. Reprinted with permission.

3. International Consciousness: Education for Awareness and Action. This chapter is excerpted from Report on an Action/Research Project conducted by Joseph Barndt and George Hrbek and submitted for approval to the Project Committee of the Division for World Mission and Ecumenism of the Lutheran Church in America on May 28, 1973. Contact the authors for further information on this report (3205 Oak Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio 44118. 216-321-3101). This section of the report addresses itself to the question "What is the framework and context for creating new sensitivity and response to the Third World among United States people?" Reprinted with permission.

4. A Call to Action. Excerpts are taken from this 1971 letter from Pope Paul VI to Canadian Cardinal Roy. They underscore the necessity for Christians to study the state of the world and to act politically. Copies of the document, with a commentary by Msgr. George Higgins, are available from the Publications Office of the USCC (address above).

5. Division Is the Problem of the Third World. This reading is the text of a speech delivered by Julius K. Nyerere, President of Tanzania, to the Maryknoll Sisters on October 16, 1970. The President describes the causes of the poverty that is so apparent in the Third World and challenges the Church to get involved in the revolution of our times.

6. World Justice and Peace: A Radical Analysis for American Christians. This article, written by three Maryknoll Missioners, was first published in Channel, an intra-Society Maryknoll magazine, and then, in a revised edition in Chicago Studies, Vol. II, No. 2, Summer 1972. It explores the advantages of a radical analysis of world society in education and action for justice.

7. Can the United States Promote Foreign Development? This 53-page monograph was prepared in 1971 by Richard J. Barnet for the Overseas Development Council. Mr. Barnet challenges many of the presuppositions we might have about the process of development and the involvement of the United States in that process. Single copies of the monograph (Development Paper #6) are available from the Overseas Development Council, Suite 501, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 at a cost of 50¢. Bulk rates on request. Reprinted with permission.

8. Some Dimensions of International Affairs Education. Paul M. Dietterich wrote this 38-page monograph in 1967 for the Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches. The article combines considerations of content and methodology. Limited copies of the monograph (#1 in the series) may still be available from the Department of International Affairs of the NCC, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027 at a cost of 50¢ apiece. Reprinted with the permission of the Department of International Affairs, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

PRE-TEST

By way of introduction we invite you to test your present understanding of the content and methodology of education for justice by judging the truth or falsity of each of the following statements. The "true" statements are direct quotations from readings in this section. The "false" statements are in conflict with the expressed belief of the author(s) of a particular reading.

The answers below reflect the belief of the author(s) of the readings. The ultimate truth or falsity of the particular statement is dependent upon the proof advanced in support of that belief in the relevant reading.

TRUE or FALSE

1._______ "...The influence of the new industrial and technological order favors the greater and greater dispersal of wealth, power, and decision-making among the peoples of this world."

2._______ "There will be no peace with justice unless liberation is gained by those who have been manipulated and victimized by interests that have been willing to profit from the continued deprivation of the weak and the powerless."

3._______ "Concern for world community can be a meaningless gesture on the part of an oppressor people, a new vocabulary to express moral concern for the oppressed without seriously considering the issues of power and politics which perpetuate the oppression."

4._______ "...The most important duty in the realm of justice is the breaking down of national boundaries which inhibit the full integration of countries into one worldwide economic and political system."

5._______ "...Until quite recently the Church was silent on the great issues of man in society, or even sided with those whose exclusive concern was their own power and the accumulation of riches. Even now... the most usual practice of the Church is the upholding of the established order--regardless of its implications."

6._______ "Increased foreign private investment, government loans from the rich countries, and increased collaboration with the World Bank and other international development agencies is the only hope of development in the poor countries of the Third World."

7._______ "...Capitalism is the opposite of democracy, since it is an economic system not owned by the people and run for the people, but is a system owned and run by a plutocracy, i.e. the rich and super-rich."

8._______ "The first aim of U.S. aid, trade, and investment policies is to create conditions of stability in the poor countries. The second is to preserve the dependent relationships between poor and rich countries which are so clearly to the advantage of the developed world."

9. ______ "The best contribution the United States can make to the problem of world poverty is simply to measure up to and carry out the development goals that we have already set for ourselves on paper."

10. ______ "It is a well-established fact in social science that, on the average, churchgoers in our country harbor more social, ethnic, and religious prejudice than do non-churchgoers."

ANSWERS TO THE PRE-TEST

1. F The Synod of Bishops state just the opposite in their document, *Justice in the World*: "Unless combatted and overcome by social and political action, the influence of the new industrial and technological order favors the concentration of wealth, power, and decision-making in the hands of a small public or private controlling group" (see below p. 46).

2. T The Methodist bishops support this statement in their document (see below p. 65).

3. T The authors of the Lutheran Project Report believe this to be so (see below p. 71).

4. F In *A Call to Action* Pope Paul VI supports the concept of national development in stating that "...the most important duty in the realm of justice is to allow each country to promote its own development, within the framework of a cooperation free from any spirit of domination, whether economic or political" (see below p. 80).

5. T President Nyerere made this statement to the Maryknoll Sisters in the context of a discussion of the role of the Church as servant in today's world (see below p. 94).

6. F In *World Justice and Peace: A Radical Analysis for American Christians*, the authors maintain that this is a myth. The fact is: "The strategy of the World Bank, western governments, and multi-national corporations is one of self-interest. The strategy reinforces injustices in the internal structures of the poor countries. Even more it maintains a structure of neo-colonialism that provides for the rich nations privileged access to the raw materials and cheap labor of the Third World" (see Myth No. 3 below, p. 103).

7. T In Myth No. 6 of World Justice and Peace: A Radical Analysis for American Christians, the authors contend that this is the case.

8. T Richard Barnet makes this claim in his monograph Can the United States Promote Foreign Development? (see below pp. 124-28).

9. F Barnet holds that "the best contribution the United States can make to the problem of world poverty is to abandon or revise many policies it is currently pursuing in the name of development that have the effect of perpetuating misery in the undeveloping world" (see below p. 133).

10. T Paul Dietterich quotes this finding of psychologist Gordon Allport in his monograph Some Dimensions of International Affairs Education (see below p. 160).

JUSTICE IN THE WORLD

Synod of Bishops

1971

INTRODUCTION

Gathered from the whole world, in communion with all who believe in Christ and with the entire human family, and opening our hearts to the Spirit who is making the whole of creation new, we have questioned ourselves about the mission of the People of God to further justice in the world.

Scrutinizing the "signs of the times" and seeking to detect the meaning of emerging history, while at the same time sharing the aspirations and questionings of all those who want to build a more human world, we have listened to the Word of God that we might be converted to the fulfilling of the divine plan for the salvation of the world.

Even though it is not for us to elaborate a very profound analysis of the situation of the world, we have nevertheless been able to perceive the serious injustices which are building around the world of men a network of domination, oppression, and abuses which stifle freedom and which keep the greater part of humanity from sharing in the building up and enjoyment of a more just and more fraternal world.

At the same time we have noted the inmost stirring moving the world in its depths. There are facts constituting a contribution to the furthering of justice. In associations of men and among peoples themselves there is arising a new awareness which shakes them out of any fatalistic resignation and which spurs them on to liberate themselves and to be responsible for their own destiny. Movements among men are seen which express hope in a better world and a will to change whatever has become intolerable.

Listening to the cry of those who suffer violence and are oppressed by unjust systems and structures, and hearing the appeal of a world that by its perversity contradicts the plan of its Creator, we have shared our awareness of the Church's vocation to be present in the heart of the world by proclaiming the Good News to the poor, freedom to the oppressed, and joy to the afflicted. The hopes and forces which are moving the world in its very foundations are not foreign to the dynamism of the Gospel, which through the power of the Holy Spirit frees men from personal sin and from its consequences in social life.

The uncertainty of history and the painful convergences in the ascending path of the human community direct us to sacred history; there God has revealed himself to us, and made known to us, as it is brought progressively to realization, his plan of liberation and salvation which is once and for all fulfilled in the Paschal Mystery of Christ. Action on behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of the world fully appear to us as a constitutive dimension of the preaching of the Gospel, or, in other words, of the Church's mission for the redemption of the human race and its liberation from every oppressive situation.

JUSTICE AND WORLD SOCIETY

CRISIS OF UNIVERSAL SOLIDARITY

The world in which the Church lives and acts is held captive by a tremendous paradox. Never before have the forces working for bringing about a unified world society appeared so powerful and dynamic; they are rooted in the awareness of the full basic equality as well as of the human dignity of all. Since men are members of the same human family, they are indissolubly linked with one another in the one destiny of the whole world, in the responsibility for which they all share.

The new technological possibilities are based upon the unity of science, on the global and simultaneous character of communications, and on the birth of an absolutely interdependent economic world. Moreover, men are beginning to grasp a new and more radical dimension of unity; for they perceive that their resources, as well as the precious treasures of air and water--without which there cannot be life--and the delicate biosphere of the whole complex of all life on earth, are not infinite, but on the contrary must be saved and preserved as a unique patrimony belonging to all mankind.

The paradox lies in the fact that within this perspective of unity the forces of division and antagonism seem today to be increasing in strength. Ancient divisions between nations and empires, between races and classes, today possess new technological instruments of destruction. The arms race is a threat to man's highest good, which is life; it makes poor peoples and individuals yet more miserable, while making richer those already powerful; it creates a continuous danger of conflagration, and in the case of nuclear arms, it threatens to destroy all life from the face of the earth. At the same time new divisions are being born to separate man from his neighbor. Unless combatted and overcome by social and political action, the influence of the new industrial and technological order favors the concentration of wealth, power, and decision-making in the hands of a small public or private controlling group. Economic injustice and lack of social participation keep a man from attaining his basic human and civil rights.

In the last twenty-five years a hope has spread through the human race that economic growth would bring about such a quantity of goods that it would be possible to feed the hungry at least with the crumbs falling from the table, but this has proved a vain hope in underdeveloped areas and in pockets of poverty in wealthier areas, because of the rapid growth of population and of the labor force, because of rural stagnation and the lack of agrarian reform, and because of the massive migratory flow to the cities, where the industries, even though endowed with huge sums of money, nevertheless provide so few jobs that not infrequently one worker in four is left unemployed. These stifling oppressions constantly give rise to great numbers of "marginal" persons, ill-fed, inhumanly housed, illiterate and deprived of political power as well as of the suitable means of acquiring responsibility and moral dignity.

Furthermore, such is the demand for resources and energy by the richer nations, whether capitalist or socialist, and such are the effects of dumping by them in the atmosphere and the sea that irreparable damage would be done to the essential elements of life on earth, such as air and water, if their high rates of consumption and pollution, which are constantly on the increase, were extended to the whole of mankind.

The strong drive towards global unity, the unequal distribution which places decisions concerning three quarters of income, investment and trade in the hands of one third of the human race, namely the more highly developed part, the insufficiency of a merely economic progress, and the new recognition of the material limits of the biosphere--all this makes us aware of the fact that in today's world new modes of understanding human dignity are arising.

THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT

In the face of international systems of domination, the bringing about of justice depends more and more on the determined will for development.

In the developing nations and in the so-called socialist world, that determined will asserts itself especially in a struggle for forms of claiming one's rights and self-expression, a struggle caused by the evolution of the economic system itself.

This aspiring to justice asserts iteself in advancing beyond the threshold at which begins a consciousness of enhancement of personal worth (cf. Populorum Progressio 15; A.A.S. 59, 1967, p. 265) with regard both to the whole man and the whole of mankind. This is expressed in an awareness of the right to development. The right to development must be seen as a dynamic interpenetration of all those fundamental human rights upon which the aspirations of individuals and nations are based.

This desire however will not satisfy the expectations of our time if it ignores the objective obstacles which social structures place in the way of conversion of hearts, or even of the realization of the ideal of charity. It demands on the contrary that the general condition of being marginal in society be overcome, so that an end will be put to the systematic barriers and vicious circles which oppose the collective advance towards enjoyment of adequate remuneration of the factors of production, and which strengthen the situation of discrimination with regard to access to opportunities and collective services from which a great part of the people are now excluded. If the developing nations and regions do not attain liberation through development, there is a real danger that the conditions of life created especially by colonial domination may evolve into a new form of colonialism in which the developing nations will be the victims of the interplay of international economic forces. That right to development is above all a right to hope according to the concrete measure of contemporary humanity. To respond to such a hope, the concept of evolution must be purified of those myths and false convictions which have up to now gone with a thought-pattern subject to a kind of deterministic and automatic notion of progress.

By taking their future into their own hands through a determined will for progress, the developing peoples--even if they do not achieve the final goal--will authentically manifest their own personalization. And in order that they may cope with the unequal relationship within the present world complex, a certain responsible nationalism gives them the impetus needed to acquire an identity of their own. From this basic self-determination can come attempts at putting together new political groupings allowing full development to these peoples; there can also come measures necessary for overcoming the inertia which could render fruitless such an effort--as in some cases population pressure; there can also come new sacrifices which the growth of planning demands of a generation which wants to build its own future.

On the other hand, it is impossible to conceive true progress without recognizing the necessity--within the political system chosen--of a development composed both of economic growth and participation, and the necessity too of an increase in wealth implying as well social progress by the entire community as it overcomes regional imbalance and islands of prosperity. Participation constitutes a right which is to be applied both in the economic and in the social and political field.

While we again affirm the right of people to keep their own identity, we see ever more clearly that the fight against a modernization destructive of the proper characteristics of nations remains quite ineffective as long as it appeals only to sacred historical customs and venerable ways of life. If modernization is accepted with the intention that it serve the good of the nation, men will be able to create a culture which will constitute a true heritage of their own in the manner of a true social memory, one which is active and formative of authentic creative personality in the assembly of nations.

VOICELESS INJUSTICES

We see in the world a set of injustices which constitute the nucleus of today's problems and whose solution requires the undertaking of tasks and functions in every sector of society, and even on the level of the global society towards which we are speeding in this last quarter of the twentieth century. Therefore we must be prepared to take on new functions and new duties in every sector of human activity and especially in the sector of world society, if justice is really to be put into practice. Our action is to be directed above all at those men and nations which because of various forms of oppression and because of the present character of our society, are silent, indeed voiceless, victims of injustice.

Take, for example, the case of migrants. They are often forced to leave their own country to find work, but frequently find the doors closed in their faces because of discriminatory attitudes, or, if they can enter, they are often obliged to lead an insecure life or are treated in an inhuman manner. The same is true of groups that are less well off on the social ladder such as workers and especially farm workers who play a very great part in the process of development.

To be especially lamented is the condition of so many millions of refugees, and of every group or people suffering persecution--sometimes in institutionalized form--for racial or ethnic origin or on tribal grounds. This persecution on tribal grounds can at times take on the characteristics of genocide.

In many areas justice is seriously injured with regard to people who are suffering persecution for their faith, or who are in many ways being ceaselessly subjected by political parties and public authorities to an action of oppressive atheization, or who are deprived of religious liberty either by being kept from honoring God in public worship, or by being prevented from publicly teaching and spreading their faith, or by being prohibited from conducting their temporal affairs according to the principles of their religion.

Justice is also being violated by forms of oppression, both old and new, springing from restriction of the rights of individuals. This is occurring both in the form of repression by the political power and of violence on the part of private reaction, and can reach the extreme of affecting the basic conditions of personal integrity. There are well known cases of torture, especially of political prisoners, who besides are frequently denied due process or who are subjected to arbitrary procedures in their trial. Nor can we pass over the prisoners of war who even after the Geneva Convention are being treated in an inhuman manner.

The fight against legalized abortion and against the imposition of contraceptives and the pressures exerted against war are significant forms of defending the right to life.

Furthermore, contemporary consciousness demands truth in the communications systems, including the right to the image offered by the media and the opportunity to correct its manipulation. It must be stressed that the right, especially that of children and the young, to education and to morally correct conditions of life and communications media is once again being threatened in our days. The activity of families in social life is rarely and insufficiently recognized by State institutions. Nor should we forget the growing number of persons who are often abandoned by their families and

and by the community: the old, orphans, the sick and all kinds of people who are rejected.

THE NEED FOR DIALOGUE

To obtain true unity of purpose, as is demanded by the world society of men, a mediatory role is essential to overcome day by day the opposition, obstacles, and ingrained privileges which are to be met with in the advance towards a more human society.

But effective mediation involves the creation of a lasting atmosphere of dialogue. A contribution to the progressive realization of this can be made by men unhampered by geo-political, ideological or socio-economic conditions or by the generation gap. To restore the meaning of life by adherence to authentic values, the participation and witness of the rising generation of youth is as necessary as communication among peoples.

THE GOSPEL MESSAGE AND THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH

In the face of the present-day situation of the world, marked as it is by the grave sin of injustice, we recognize both our responsibility and our inability to overcome it by our own strength. Such a situation urges us to listen with a humble and open heart to the word of God, as he shows us new paths towards action in the cause of justice in the world.

THE SAVING JUSTICE OF GOD THROUGH CHRIST

In the Old Testament God reveals himself to us as the liberator of the oppressed and the defender of the poor, demanding from man faith in him and justice towards man's neighbor. It is only in the observance of the duties of justice that God is truly recognized as the liberator of the oppressed.

By his action and teaching Christ united in an indivisible way the relationship of man to God and the relationship of man to other men. Christ lived his life in the world as a total giving of himself to God for the salvation and liberation of men. In his preaching he proclaimed the fatherhood of God towards all men and the intervention of God's justice on behalf of the needy and the oppressed (Lk 6:21-23). In this way he identified himself with his "least brethren", as he stated: "As you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me" (Mt. 25:40).

From the beginning the Church has lived and understood the Death and

Resurrection of Christ as a call by God to conversion in the faith of Christ and in fraternal love, perfected in mutual help even to the point of a voluntary sharing of material goods.

Faith in Christ, the Son of God and the Redeemer, and love of neighbor constitute a fundamental theme of the writers of the New Testament. According to St. Paul, the whole of the Christian life is summed up in faith effecting that love and service of neighbor which involve the fulfilment of the demands of justice. The Christian lives under the interior law of liberty, which is a permanent call to man to turn away from self-sufficiency to confidence in God and from concern for self to a sincere love of neighbor. Thus takes place his genuine liberation and the gift of himself for the freedom of others.

According to the Christian message, therefore, man's relationship to his neighbor is bound up with his relationship to God; his response to the love of God, saving us through Christ, is shown to be effective in his love and service of men. Christian love of neighbor and justice cannot be separated. For love implies an absolute demand for justice, namely a recognition of the dignity and rights of one's neighbor. Justice attains its inner fullness only in love. Because every man is truly a visible image of the invisible God and a brother of Christ, the Christian finds in every man God himself and God's absolute demand for justice and love.

The present situation of the world, seen in the light of faith, calls us back to the very essence of the Christian message, creating in us a deep awareness of its true meaning and of its urgent demands. The mission of preaching the Gospel dictates at the present time that we should dedicate ourselves to the liberation of man even in his present existence in this world. For unless the Christian message of love and justice shows its effectiveness through action in the cause of justice in the world, it will only with difficulty gain credibility with the men of our times.

THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH, HIERARCHY, AND CHRISTIANS

The Church has received from Christ the mission of preaching the Gospel message, which contains a call to man to turn away from sin to the love of the Father, universal brotherhood, and a consequent demand for justice in the world. This is the reason why the Church has the right, indeed, the duty, to proclaim justice on the social, national, and international level, and to denounce instances of injustice, when the fundamental rights of man and his very salvation demand it. The Church, indeed, is not alone responsible for justice in the world; however, she has a proper and specific responsibility which is identified with her mission of giving witness before the world of the need for love and justice contained in the Gospel message, a witness to be carried out in Church institutions themselves and in the lives of Christians.

Of itself it does not belong to the Church, insofar as she is a religious and hierarchical community, to offer concrete solutions in the social, economic, and political spheres for justice in the world. Her mission involves defending and promoting the dignity and fundamental rights of the human person.

The members of the Church, as members of society, have the same right and duty to promote the common good as do other citizens. Christians ought to fulfil their temporal obligations with fidelity and competence. They should act as a leaven in the world, in their family, professional, social, cultural and political life. They must accept their responsibilities in this entire area under the influence of the Gospel and the teaching of the Church. In this way they testify to the power of the Holy Spirit through their action in the service of men in those things which are decisive for the existence and the future of humanity. While in such activities they generally act on their own initiative without involving the responsibility of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, in a sense they do involve the responsibility of the Church whose members they are.

THE PRACTICE OF JUSTICE

THE CHURCH'S WITNESS

Many Christians are drawn to give authentic witness on behalf of justice by various modes of action for justice, action inspired by love in accordance with the grace which they have received from God. For some of them, this action finds its place in the sphere of social and political conflicts in which Christians bear witness to the Gospel by pointing out that in history there are sources of progress other than conflict, namely love and right. This priority of love in history draws other Christians to prefer the way of non-violent action and work in the areas of public opinion.

While the Church is bound to give witness to justice, she recognizes that anyone who ventures to speak to people about justice must first be just in their eyes. Hence we must undertake an examination of the modes of acting and of the possessions and life style found within the Church herself.

Within the Church rights must be preserved. No one should be deprived of his ordinary rights because he is associated with the Church in one way or another. Those who serve the Church by their labor, including priests and religious, should receive a sufficient livelihood and enjoy that social security which is customary in their region. Lay people should be given fair wages and a system for promotion. We reiterate the recommendations that lay people should exercise more important functions with regard to Church property and should share in its administration.

We also urge that women should have their own share of responsibility and participation in the community life of society and likewise of the Church.

We propose that this matter be subjected to a serious study employing adequate means: for instance, a mixed commission of men and women, religious and lay people, of differing situations and competence.

The Church recognizes everyone's right to suitable freedom of expression and thought. This includes the right of everyone to be heard in a spirit of dialogue which preserves a legitimate diversity within the Church.

The form of judicial procedure should give the accused the right to know his accusers and also the right to a proper defense. To be complete, justice should include speed in its procedure. This is especially necessary in marriage cases.

Finally, the members of the Church should have some share in the drawing up of decisions, in accordance with the rules given by the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council and the Holy See, for instance with regard to the setting up of councils at all levels.

In regard to temporal possessions, whatever be their use, it must never happen that the evangelical witness which the Church is required to give becomes ambiguous. The preservation of certain positions of privilege must constantly be submitted to the test of this principle. Although in general it is difficult to draw a line between what is needed for right use and what is demanded by prophetic witness, we must certainly keep firmly to this principle: Our faith demands of us a certain sparingness in use, and the Church is obliged to live and administer its own goods in such a way that the Gospel is proclaimed to the poor. If instead the Church appears to be among the rich and the powerful of this world its credibility is diminished.

Our examination of conscience now comes to the life style of all: bishops, priests, religious, and lay people. In the case of needy peoples it must be asked whether belonging to the Church places people on a rich island within an ambient of poverty. In societies enjoying a higher level of consumer spending, it must be asked whether our life style exemplifies that sparingness with regard to consumption which we preach to others as necessary in order that so many millions of hungry people throughout the world may be fed.

EDUCATING TO JUSTICE

Christians' specific contribution to justice is the day-to-day life of the individual believer acting like the leaven of the Gospel in his family, his school, his work, and his social and civic life. Included with this are the perspectives and meaning which the faithful can give to human effort. Accordingly, educational method must be such as to teach men to live their lives in its entire reality and in accord with the evangelical principles of personal and social morality which are expressed in the vital Christian witness of one's life.

The obstacles to the progress which we wish for ourselves and for mankind are obvious. The method of education very frequently still in use today encourages narrow individualism. Part of the human family lives immersed in a mentality which exalts possessions. The school and the communications media, which are often obstructed by the established order, allow the formation only of the man desired by that order, that is to say, man in its image, not a new man but a copy of man as he is.

But education demands a renewal of heart, a renewal based on the recognition of sin in its individual and social manifestations. It will also inculcate a truly and entirely human way of life in justice, love, and simplicity. It will likewise awaken a critical sense, which will lead us to reflect on the society in which we live and on its values; it will make men ready to renounce these values when they cease to promote justice for all men. In the developing countries, the principal aim of this education for justice consists in an attempt to awaken consciences to a knowledge of the concrete situation and in a call to secure a total improvement; by these means the transformation of the world has already begun.

Since this education makes men decidedly more human, it will help them to be no longer the object of manipulation by communications media or political forces. It will instead enable them to take in hand their own destinies and bring about communities which are truly human.

Accordingly, this education is deservedly called a continuing education for it concerns every person and every age. It is also a practical education: it comes through action, participation and vital contact with the reality of injustice.

Education for justice is imparted first in the family. We are well aware that not only Church institutions but also other schools, trade unions, and political parties are collaborating in this.

The content of this education necessarily involves respect for the person and for his dignity. Since it is world justice which is in question here, the unity of the human family within which, according to God's plan, a human being is born must first of all be seriously affirmed. Christians find a sign of this solidarity in the fact that all human beings are destined to become in Christ sharers in the divine nature.

The basic principles whereby the influence of the Gospel has made itself felt in contemporary social life are to be found in the body of teaching set out in a gradual and timely way from the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* to the letter *Octogesima Adveniens*. As never before, the Church has, through the Second Vatican Council's constitution *Gaudium et Spes*, better understood the situation in the modern world, in which the Christian works out his salvation by deeds of justice. *Pacem in Terris* gave us an authentic charter of human rights. In *Mater et Magistra* international justice begins to take first place; it finds more elaborate expression in *Populorum Progressio*, in the form of a true and suitable treatise on the right to development, and in *Octogesima Adveniens* is found a summary of guidelines for political action.

Like the apostle Paul, we insist, welcome or unwelcome, that the Word of God should be present in the center of human situations. Our interventions are intended to be an expression of that faith which is today binding on our lives and on the lives of the faithful. We all desire that these interventions should always be in conformity with circumstances of place and time. Our mission demands that we should courageously denounce injustice, with charity, prudence, and firmness, in sincere dialogue with all parties concerned. We know that our denunciations can secure assent to the extent that they are an expression of our lives and are manifested in continuous action.

The liturgy, which we preside over and which is the heart of the Church's life, can greatly serve education for justice. For it is a thanksgiving to the Father in Christ, which through its communitarian form places before our eyes the bonds of our brotherhood and again and again reminds us of the Church's mission. The liturgy of the word, catechesis, and the celebration of the sacraments have the power to help us to discover the teaching of the prophets, the Lord, and the Apostles on the subject of justice. The preparation for baptism is the beginning of the formation of the Christian conscience. The practice of penance should emphasize the social dimension of sin and of the sacrament. Finally, the Eucharist forms the community and places it at the service of men.

COOPERATION BETWEEN LOCAL CHURCHES

That the Church may really be the sign of that solidarity which the family of nations desires, it should show in its own life greater cooperation between the Churches of rich and poor regions through spiritual communion and division of human and material resources. The present generous arrangements for assistance between Churches could be made more effective by real coordination (Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples and the Pontifical Council "Cor Unum"), through their overall view in regard to the common administration of the gifts of God, and through fraternal solidarity, which would always encourage autonomy and responsibility on the part of the beneficiaries in the determination of criteria and the choice of concrete programmes and their realization.

This planning must in no way be restricted to economic programmes; it should instead stimulate activities capable of developing that human and spiritual formation which will serve as the leaven needed for the integral development of the human being.

ECUMENICAL COLLABORATION

Well aware of what has already been done in this field, together with the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council we very highly commend cooperation with our separated Christian brethren for the promotion of justice in the world, for bringing about development of peoples and for establishing peace. This cooperation concerns first and foremost activities for securing human dignity and man's fundamental rights, especially the right to religious liberty. This is the source of our common efforts against discrimination on the grounds of differences of religion, race and color, culture, and the like. Collaboration extends also to the study of the teaching of the Gospel insofar as it is the source of inspiration for all Christian activity. Let the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity and the Pontifical Commission Justice and Peace devote themselves in common counsel to developing effectively this ecumenical collaboration.

In the same spirit we likewise commend collaboration with all believers in God in the fostering of social justice, peace, and freedom; indeed we commend collaboration also with those who, even though they do not recognize the Author of the world, nevertheless, in their esteem for human values, seek justice sincerely and by honorable means.

INTERNATIONAL ACTION

Since the Synod is of a universal character, it is dealing with those questions of justice which directly concern the entire human family. Hence, recognizing the importance of international cooperation for social and economic development, we praise above all else the inestimable work which has been done among the poorer peoples by the local Churches, the missionaries, and the organizations supporting them; and we intend to foster those initiatives and institutions which are working for peace, international justice, and the development of man. We therefore urge Catholics to consider well the following propositions:

1. Let recognition be given to the fact that international order is rooted in the inalienable rights and dignity of the human being. Let the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights be ratified by all Governments who have not yet adhered to it, and let it be fully observed by all.

2. Let the United Nations--which because of its unique purpose should promote participation by all nations--and international organizations be supported insofar as they are the beginning of a system capable of restraining the armaments race, discouraging trade in weapons, securing disarmament, and settling conflicts by peaceful methods of legal action, arbitration, and international police action. It is absolutely necessary that international conflicts should not be settled by war, but that other methods better befitting human nature should be found. Let a strategy of non-violence be fostered also, and let conscientious objection be recognized and regulated by law in each nation.

3. Let the aims of the Second Development Decade be fostered. These include the transfer of a precise percentage of the annual income of the richer countries to the developing nations, fairer prices for raw materials, the opening of the markets of the richer nations and, in some fields, pre-

ferential treatment for exports of manufactured goods from the developing nations. These aims represent first guidelines for a graduated taxation of income as well as for an economic and social plan for the entire world. We grieve whenever richer nations turn their backs on this ideal goal of worldwide sharing and responsibility. We hope that no such weakening of international solidarity will take away their force from the trade discussions being prepared by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. (UNCTAD).

4. The concentration of power which consists in almost total domination of economics, research, investment, freight charges, sea transport and securities should be progressively balanced by institutional arrangements for strengthening power and opportunities with regard to responsible decision by the developing nations and by full and equal participation in international organizations concerned with development. Their recent de facto exclusion from discussions on world trade and also the monetary arrangements which vitally affect their destiny are an example of lack of power which is inadmissible in a just and responsible world order.

5. Although we recognize that international agencies can be perfected and strengthened, as can any human instrument, we stress also the importance of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, in particular those directly concerned with the immediate and more acute questions of world poverty in the field of agrarian reform and agricultural development, health, education, employment, housing, and rapidly increasing urbanization. We feel we must point out in a special way the need for some fund to provide sufficient food and protein for the real mental and physical development of children. In the face of the population explosion we repeat the words by which Pope Paul VI defined the functions of public authority in his encyclical Populorum Progressio: "There is no doubt that public authorities can intervene, within the limit of their competence, by favoring the availability of appropriate information and by adopting suitable measures, provided that these be in conformity with the moral law and that they absolutely respect the rightful freedom of married couples" (37; A.A.S. 59, 1967, p.276).

6. Let governments continue with their individual contribution to a development fund, but let them also look for a way whereby most of their endeavors may follow multilateral channels, fully preserving the responsibility of the developing nations, which must be associated in decision-making concerning priorities and investment.

7. We consider that we must also stress the new worldwide preoccupation which will be dealt with for the first time in the conference on the human environment to be held in Stockholm in June 1972. It is impossible to see what right the richer nations have to keep up their claim to increase their own material demands, if the consequence is either that others remain in misery or that the danger of destroying the very physical foundations of life on earth is precipitated. Those who are already rich are bound to accept a less material way of life, with less waste, in order to avoid the destruction of the heritage which they are obliged by absolute justice to share with all other members of the human race.

8. In order that the right to development may be fulfilled by action:

a) people should not be hindered from attaining development in accordance with their own culture;

b) through mutual cooperation, all peoples should be able to become the principal architects of their own economic and social development;

c) every people, as active and responsible members of human society, should be able to cooperate for the attainment of the common good on an equal footing with other peoples.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SYNOD

The examination of conscience which we have made together, regarding the Church's involvement in action for justice, will remain ineffective if it is not given flesh in the life of our local Churches at all their levels. We also ask the episcopal conferences to continue to pursue the perspectives which we have had in view during the days of this meeting and to put our recommendations into practice, for instance by setting up centers of social and theological research.

We also ask that there be recommended to the Pontifical Commission Justice and Peace, the Council of the Secretariat of the Synod, and to competent authorities, the description, consideration, and deeper study of the wishes and desires of our assembly, and that these bodies should bring to a successful conclusion what we have begun.

A WORD OF HOPE

The power of the Spirit, who raised Christ from the dead, is continuously at work in the world. Through the generous sons and daughters of the Church likewise, the People of God is present in the midst of the poor and of those who suffer oppression and persecution; it lives in its own flesh and its own heart the Passion of Christ and bears witness to his resurrection.

The entire creation has been groaning till now in an act of giving birth, as it waits for the glory of the children of God to be revealed (cf. Rom. 8:22). Let Christians therefore be convinced that they will yet find the fruits of their own nature and effort cleansed of all impurities in the new earth which God is now preparing for them, and in which there will be the kingdom of justice and love, a kingdom which will be fully perfected when the Lord will come himself.

Hope in the coming kingdom is already beginning to take root in the hearts of men. The radical transformation of the world in the Paschal Mystery of the Lord gives full meaning to the efforts of men, and in particular of the young, to lessen injustice, violence, and hatred and to advance all together in justice, freedom, brotherhood, and love.

At the same time as it proclaims the Gospel of the Lord, its Redeemer and Savior, the Church calls on all, especially the poor, the oppressed, and the afflicted, to cooperate with God to bring about liberation from every sin and to build a world which will reach the fullness of creation only when it becomes the work of man for man.

THE BISHOPS' CALL FOR PEACE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLES

Adopted by the General Conference
of the United Methodist Church
Atlanta, Georgia,
April 1972

The "basic beliefs" of the former Evangelical United Brethren Church stated forthrightly "that war and bloodshed...are not compatible with the Gospel and spirit of Christ." The Methodist Social Creed said, "We must actively and constantly create the conditions of peace." World peace, a requisite for human survival, is a fundamental objective of Christians everywhere.

In a recent survey, United Methodists expressed their profound concern about the cheapness with which human life is treated and the possibility of the total extinction of the race; they revealed an overriding concern about world peace and the morality of war (Sexton, *Listening To The Church*, pp. 55, 62-68). In response to this concern, in the light of traditional denominational teachings and on the basis of a biblical faith, the Council of Bishops of The United Methodist Church issues this call for peace and the self-development of people.

THE NATURE OF PEACE

Peace is not simply the absence of war, a nuclear stalemate or combination of uneasy cease-fires. It is that emerging dynamic reality envisioned by prophets where spears and swords give way to implements of peace (*Isa.* 2:1-4); where historic antagonists dwell together in trust (*Isa*. 11:4-11); and where righteousness and justice prevail. There will be no peace with justice until unselfish and informed love are structured into political processes and international arrangements.

The enemies of peace are many. War results from a complex of personal, social, economic and political forces. If war is to be overcome, its root causes must be isolated and dealt with.

THE ENEMIES OF PEACE

1. *Blind self-interest is an enemy of peace*. The history of war is a history of unbridled greed, ambition, and self-centeredness. Nations have

been willing to gain their own security and advantage at the expense of other weaker nations. Humankind, obsessed with "rightness" and power, has sought to impose its will on all its surroundings. Self-aggrandizement has too often prevailed over human rights and international justice. Vain self-assertion has been humanity's "nature" and in no small measure, it has shaped our "destiny."

The self-interest that gives birth to war is both personal and social. Policymakers are individuals. Their decisions are moral decisions. Whether they live in a tribal culture, a representative democracy, or a totalitarian police state, they are individually responsible. By their greed and cowardice, silence and truculence, arrogance and apathy, they contribute to the dismemberment of true community.

But, self-interest is also institutionalized. Nation-states, economic systems, political and military forces, and the structures of our corporate life, serving their own interests, become self-seeking antagonists destroying the unity of humankind.

2. Economic exploitation is an enemy of peace. No economic system is divinely inspired and every economic system should be judged by the ethical imperatives of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Personal fulfillment and international stability are impossible in a world where two out of three people go to bed hungry every night and where the chasm between "haves" and "have nots" grows wider day by day.

One cannot understand current events without taking into account the colonial policies of an earlier era. World powers carved up continents and divided the spoils. Third World nations and underdeveloped peoples are now reacting with bitterness and suspicion toward those forces that systematically exploited their personal and natural resources.

The Third World is understandably concerned about American domination of the world market, is wary of strings-attached aid programs, and is determined to assert its independent selfhood. The "super-powers" are the new imperialists. With networks of economic and military interests intruding into almost every land, they frustrate authentic self-determination, manipulate power relationships, and disturb the essential ingredients of international community.

3. Racism is an enemy of peace. Whether its attitudes and institutions disturb domestic tranquility, contravene justice, or erupt in bloody skirmishes, racism stands opposed to every humanizing process. Racist presuppositions are implicit in Western attitudes and policies toward Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America, as well as toward black, brown, yellow, and red persons in subcultures controlled by white majorities.

4. Population explosion is an enemy of peace. Nations often justify expansionist policies on the basis of overcrowded homelands.

Human congestion, linked with poverty, hunger, and filth, gives rise to frustration, despair, and violence.

In affluent societies, an increasing population intensifies the ecological crisis as wealth multiplies industrial waste, pollutes air and water, and jeopardizes the delicate balance of nature.

Both poverty and wealth, when complicated by overpopulation, aggravate hostilities and negate human values.

5. Nation worship is an enemy of peace. Insulated, self-serving nationalism must yield to genuine international cooperation if humanity is to survive. The unilateral intervention of super-powers in the affairs of smaller nations (Hungary, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Czechoslovakia, the Dominican Republic, and Guatemala) must be ended. International anarchy is the most dangerous form of lawlessness confronting the human family today.

6. Continued reliance upon military violence is an enemy of peace. There have been more war casualties in the twentieth century than in all previous centuries of recorded history combined. Nuclear and biochemical weaponry, and new, technological war-making equipment have thrust the human race into an indefensible posture. It is alleged that 90 percent of the war casualties in Indochina have been civilian. Old "just war" theories need to be carefully rethought in the light of present reality. Wars fought in the national interest will doubtless continue, but violence begets violence and in today's world extinction could result from irrational accident or momentary madness.

7. The arms race is an enemy of peace. Arms races have always resulted in the utilization of their products. In spite of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, the super-powers have continued with the development of ABM and anti-ABM hardware, and MIRV has been deployed. The current overkill capacities of the Soviet Union and the United States, coupled with the fact that there are now five nuclear powers, make future prospects for world harmony bleak indeed.

Dehumanization, a special threat in a materialistic, technocratic society, is implicit in almost all the "enemies of peace" we have outlined. The Gospel of Jesus Christ proclaims the inestimable worth of each individual. It is "personal" in the most radical sense of the word. It seeks to humanize, and would make common cause with those values and forces that are working for the fulfillment of the human potential in today's world.

THE SOURCES OF PEACE

Peace is the gift of God, a gift that comes when men and women meet the conditions of God.

The God who gives us peace is the Creator of all persons and the judge of all nations. God has revealed a perfect will through Jesus Christ, the Lord of history and the Prince of Peace. God's Holy Spirit, the cleansing and unifying presence in our midst, is able to work through current conflict and disruption that the divine will might be done on earth.

And what are God's "conditions" for peace? There are many. They are personal and cultural; theological and practical; attitudinal and systemic.

God calls us to penitence and new life. In the light of present crisis we are called upon to be "heartily sorry for these our misdoings." We have been vain and self-serving, indifferent to poverty and hunger, insensitive in the face of exploitation and suffering; we have enthroned the values of a materialistic society; we have reflected racist attitudes and participated in racist systems; we have worshipped our native land, have undue faith in military violence and permitted concepts of "national honor" to take precedence over the well-being of brutalized persons in distant places. Each of us, in the light of misguided loyalties and present apathy, is called upon to pray earnestly the familiar prayer, "O God, be merciful to me a sinner."

Genuine repentance can lead to new life. One of the central injunctions of a biblical faith is, "Repent and believe..." (Mark 1:15). "When anyone is united to Christ there is a new world; the old order has gone and a new order has already begun" (2 Cor. 5:17). New life based upon an honest awareness of past failures and sins is a requisite for peace within and world peace. Old values and allegiances are replaced by a new ethic in "the new being."

If God's "conditions" for peace include penitence and new life, they can also be summarized with one word: love. Mature love is neither sensuality nor sentimentality. It is not a refuge for the naive. It is an unswerving and uncompromising way of life. It goes a second mile, turns the other cheek, and accepts and offers itself for friend and enemy alike. It feeds the hungry, clothes the naked, seeks out the rejected, and liberates the oppressed. Freedom is love's expression. Justice is love's demand. Believing that those who live by the sword will perish by the sword, and that those who find their security in nuclear stockpiles may well be destroyed by that weaponry, love seeks to overcome evil with good. "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself...and...he has entrusted us with the message of reconciliation" (2 Cor. 5:19).

Even as God is the source of our peace so God calls us to be servants; custodians of the message of peace; "peacemakers."

We have mentioned "the enemies of peace." Each of these enemies needs to be dealt with specifically.

1. If war results from greed, ambition, and sinful self-interest, peace requires the literal conversion of persons, of attitudes and values. It also requires a radical redefinition of institutional goals and priorities. Self-interest must be seen in relationship to love for God and for our brothers and sisters (Luke 10:25-28).

2. If extremes of poverty and hunger are to be overcome, development programs must be based upon principles of global need and accountability.

They should not be designed to reinforce particular economic systems or protect the markets of privileged nations. Development, however, involves more than economic improvement. It refers to self-reliance and self-determination. The self-development of people requires equality of opportunity, full participation in decision-making processes, and a diffusion of political power from the few to the many.

3. There will be no peace with justice unless liberation is gained by those who have been manipulated and victimized by interests that have been willing to profit from the continued deprivation of the weak and the powerless. But the oppressor needs to be liberated as truly as the oppressed. Liberation affects the whole person. It is salvation; it is humanization. It is social, economic, political, and spiritual. It calls for the structural implementation of those values announced by our Lord when he said he had come that the "broken victims" of life might "go free" (Luke 4:18).

4. Racism must give way to justice if peace is to become a reality. This justice, based upon new attitudes, understandings, and relationships, will be reflected in the laws, policies, structures, and practices of both church and state.

If dignity and self-determination are human rights, then respect for and the preservation of particular ethnic, cultural, and racial traditions and values should be encouraged and assured. It is not the function of Christian witness to "westernize," "easternize," "Americanize" or in other ways acculturate human attitudes and responses. It is the function of the Christian to bring the full dimensions of a gospel of love and justice to bear upon the human situation.

5. Concerned and adequate population control programs must be developed if the planet is not to be crowded beyond its capacity to support human life.

6. If peace is to come, nation-worship must be supplanted by the loyalty implicit in the declaration, "God so loved the world...." The individual is normally a patriot. We love the soil of our native land and the heritage that has shaped our days. Grateful for home and heritage we are now called to a higher patriotism. Once women and men were forced to organize as tribes for self-protection, then tribes as city-states and city-states as nation-states. Today we are called to look beyond the limited and competing boundaries of nation-states to the larger and more inclusive community of humanity.

7. This movement from narrow nationalism to global loyalties requires both international law and international organization. The development of international law has included landmark treaties resulting from conferences at The Hague, Dumbarton Oaks, and the Geneva Conventions. Structures of international order have been anticipated by the ill-fated League of Nations and the United Nations. If peace with justice is to come, nation-states should utilize the United Nations and the International Court of Justice, as well as international trade, relief and scientific institutions, while seeking to perfect the instruments of international organization.

8. If peace is to come, our present reliance upon military institutions

and domination by a military-industrial complex must be replaced by civilian control of the military. An ordered society must be policed by forces responsible to that same society. Self-serving national military forces must eventually give way to duly constituted international peace-keeping units.

The tradition of non-violent love is a fundamental dimension of the Christian faith. Christians are challenged to consider and embrace this personal stance, thus providing a redemptive witness in society.

9. There must be eventual disarmament. We cannot be certain of a particular war. "Causes" may be simply pretexts. In the final analysis, it is the presence of military institutions in the nations of the world that make wars possible and arms races probable. The tide must be turned. Recognizing the strategic dangers of unilateral disarmament, nations can begin processes of military disengagement and move toward bilateral and multilateral disarmament agreements within the framework of the United Nations. Our suicidal confidence in arms and military systems must give way to a radical reordering of priorities and an awareness of overriding human values.

The ingredients of peace are indivisible. Its realization cannot be achieved apart from theological, ethical, and practical "sources." The individual must assume full responsibility for "peacemaking." The Church must be far more faithful to its Lord, the Prince of Peace, than it has been willing to be in the past. And nations must become more deeply involved in the continuing processes of the self-development of people and the creation of a just and peaceful world order. Unless the most powerful and responsible members of the human family are willing to deal with the root causes of war, running the essential risks and making the necessary sacrifices, humanity will destroy itself.

"(Christ Jesus) is himself our peace.... In his own body flesh and blood has broken down the enmity which stood like a dividing wall.... For he (came) to create...a single new humanity in himself, thereby making peace" (Eph. 2:13-16).

Proposed Revision to "The Bishops' Call for Peace and the Self-Development of Peoples"

The following paragraph is a proposed revision of one adopted by the General Conference and is circulated for consideration of the additional issues it raises. It is submitted in response to the Bishops' Call document by The Commission on the Status and Role of Women in The United Methodist Church to the Council of Bishops through the Coordinating Committee on Peace at its meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, March 17-18, 1973.

3a. Racial and sexual discrimination are enemies of peace. They are destructive forces present throughout most cultures manipulating both men and women into predetermined roles, destroying human freedom and choice. Racial and sexual discrimination do violence to the world's human potential, standing in opposition to the ministry of the church of bringing men and women to whole personhood. Racist presuppositions are implicit in Western attitudes and policies toward Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America, as well as toward black, brown, yellow, and red persons in subcultures controlled by white majorities. Sexist attitudes permeate human existence within and outside the church silently destroying the ability of men and women to recognize the oppression of which they are equally the victims.

INTERNATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS: EDUCATION FOR AWARENESS AND ACTION

by Joseph Barndt and George Hrbek

Excerpted from a "Report On an Action/Research Project to the Project Committee of the Division For World Mission And Ecumenism, Lutheran Church In America." May 28, 1973. This is a provisional copy of the report.

THE TASK: INTERNATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

What is the framework and context for creating new sensitivity and response to the Third World among United States people? There are many alternative shapes and forms which various groups are already taking in their attempts to carry out this task.... This section will attempt to identify some of the alternative directions which can be taken, and choices which must be made by those approaching the task of education for awareness and action concerning the Third World, especially for Lutheran Christians in the United States.

PROGRAMS OF BASIC INFORMATION AND ATTITUDINAL CHANGE

One of the cold facts with which anyone must begin in the area of Third World awareness is the tremendous lack of knowledge of the average United States citizen concerning the rest of the world. It is difficult to disseminate facts concerning the issues which Lutherans in Namibia are facing in their struggle against apartheid and economic injustice, when the vast majority of people don't even know there is a country by that name, or even know of it by its former name of Southwest Africa. And it is difficult to talk about the "models of development" in Chile and Brazil when the person who is listening doesn't have the most rudimentary picture in her or his mind of South America's geography or history.

Companion to this lack of knowledge are distorted images of Third World people and life styles, which are often contrasted with the people and life styles in the United States in such ways as to create attitudes of arrogant superiority in our country. Third World people are thought of as inferior, uncivilized, incapable of self-government. Their lives are considered to have less value than the lives of white, western people (usually expressed: "they place less value on life than we do"). And it is still popularly believed that the United States has been given the burden of responsibility to make decisions and determine the future for the rest of the world.

Most of the persons with whom we spoke agreed that the absence of knowledge and the attitudes of arrogant superiority have specific and identifiable causes. They are felt to be encouraged and reenforced by governmental, educational, and ecclesiastical institutions. The premises behind manifest destiny in our nation, and baptism by the sword in our churches are still taught and believed by wide sections of the populace.

Another reason given for these problems is that current communication from and about the Third World is sparse and slanted. Some of the illustrations listed are (1) that of Brazil, where knowledge of political torture in that country since 1964 has only become public here in the United States during the last two years; (2) that of Vietnam and the rest of Indo-China, where distortions and lies by the United States government have been documented and exposed many times; and (3) that of Chile, where only occasionally do the people of the United States hear anything but criticism and prophecies of doom concerning the events of that country.

None of the more complex issues which will be described in the following pages have the slightest chance in being communicated and understood by persons who do not know where Tanzania is, or who Simon Bolivar was, and who do not realize that a black South African, a brown Latin American, or a yellow Asian is as beautiful, as competent, and as important an individual as any person in the United States. Not only among children, but especially among adult Lutheran Christians in the United States, new and creative ways must be discovered to communicate basic facts about the Third World people. Before doing so, however, some fundamental problems must be faced with regard to ideological presuppositions and methodology. These will be presented in the following pages.

ONE WORLD OR MANY NATIONS

Every educational program contains a theological and a political ideology ("There is no such thing as neutral education." --Paulo Freire). This also applies to programs designed to create new attitudes and understandings about the Third World. Generally speaking, most existing Third World educational programs are associated with either one or two ideological orientations. The first may be called the "one world view." Its emphasis is upon the essential oneness of humanity and the vision of world unity. The second may be called "the international view." Its emphasis is upon the problem of human brokenness and the present state of world division, domination, and oppression. We will look briefly at each of these approaches.

The One World View

Educational programs emphasizing this point of view usually go by such names as "global consciousness" or "world community." Their central concern is upon the development of goals and vision for the world's future, and to respond to both the positive and negative alternatives which face us.

"The possibility of a massive extinction of life...is matched by the possibility of a dramatic enlargement of human fulfillment" (World Community Statement of the Lutheran Church in America, adopted in convention, June, 1970). The theological emphasis of the one world view is upon the corporate and universal aspects of the Christians' faith--the wholeness of creation, sacramental unity, eschatological vision, etc.

The greatest strength of this approach is also thought by some to be its greatest weakness. The vision of world community has the potentiality of changing parochial, nationalistic concerns to an awareness of the necessity for inter-dependence among nations, and the cessation of national, ethnic, and political divisions. At the same time, there is a danger pointed out by some persons that this approach can represent a vague and idealistic orientation which does not take into account seriously enough the current struggle of Third World people against the oppression of the world's rich and dominant classes. Concern for world community can be a meaningless gesture on the part of an oppressor people, a new vocabulary to express moral concern for the oppressed without seriously considering the issues of power and politics which perpetuate the oppression.

The International View

If the emphasis of the "one world view" is upon a vision of a better future, the emphasis of the "international view" is upon the reality of the present struggle. Not moral imperatives, but power and political issues are given the weight of greatest importance in bringing about steps toward justice in international relationships. This approach is also more issue-centered, focusing upon specific geographical or problem-centered expressions of the struggles for justice and social change.

The theological starting place for the international view is perhaps more consistent with a traditional Lutheran position. It begins with recognition of the sinfulness and brokenness of humanity which produces nationalism, oppression, and class divisions into the rich and poor. The strongest criticism which is laid against this view is that the eschatological vision of the Kingdom of God is too severely segregated and prevented from influencing the analyses of what is possible in the kingdoms of this world.

In reality, neither of the above approaches exists in total separation from one another. Most educational programs for Third World awareness and action necessarily have components of both approaches, but leaning more in one or the other direction. Continuing discussion and appraisal should take place among persons doing Third World educational programs to define more adequately their presuppositions and goals, and to permit these two emphases to support and share with one another.

Internationalization of Mission

Among various international denominations (including Lutherans) there is a new programatic emphasis developing which is clearly associated with the above stated points of view. This emphasis usually goes by either the name of "internationalization of mission," or "mission on six continents." The purpose of this emphasis is to respond to the changing scene with new concepts and definitions of world mission.

Internationalization of mission recognizes that popularly accepted conceptualizations of world mission still reflect the distorted idea of two Christian, civilized continents with a mission to Christianize and civilize the other four continents. In spite of serious efforts over the last fifty years to change this concept, many people still consider Africa, Asia, and Latin America to be the "objects of western mission." Contributions for missions are often given in order to perpetuate this distorted idea of world mission.

Mission on Six Continents, or Internationalization of Mission programming seeks to alter these concepts. The Church's global mission is seen as being for and by six continents. "Into all the world" is not to be thought of as beyond the edge of national or cultural borders, but as beginning with "the world around me." Central to this emphasis is the concept that there is a "global mission to the United States." The Christian Churches of Africa, Asia, and Latin America should be as concerned about the preaching of the Gospel and the life of the Church in the United States as the Churches in the United States have been concerned about mission in those continents in the past.

DEVELOPMENT SUPPORT OR LIBERATION SUPPORT

In the brief summary of Third World issues presented above, mention was made of the division of opinions in the Third World as to the best approach to the resolving of their problems. One side, the "developmentalists," believe that the solution to their problems is primarily dependent upon aid and development programs from the richer, developed nations. The other side, the "liberationists," believe that dependency upon the richer nations is the primary reason for their chronic underdevelopment, and that liberation from this dependency relationship is the first prerequisite to self-development.

Persons in the United States who wish to deal with Third World issues will inevitably have to decide for themselves where they stand with respect to these choices. Whether we are seeking to develop greater Third World awareness in the United States, or attempting to support Third World needs, a political choice along the development-liberation continuum is unavoidable. This choice will be primarily determined by our understanding of our corporate identity as United States people in relationship to the Third World; it will also affect how we deal with political/economic/social issues in our own country.

Obviously, either of these choices represents a grand generalization. Deeper analysis demonstrates that such choices are complicated by many factors. As a generalization, however, there is validity in pointing out the sharp division between these two positions. On the one hand there are those who believe that the United States is more a part of the solution than a part of the problem of the Third World. That is, they do not see us as being a primary cause of Third World underdevelopment. The causes are primarily seen as internal problems of those nations. The identity and role of the United States is seen as being problem solver. Our responsibility is to assist the Third World nations in their struggle to become developed.

On the other hand, those who choose liberation-support believe that the United States is more a part of the problem than of the solution. According to this point of view, the United States is seen as an imperialist nation which politically, militarily, economically, and culturally seeks to dominate and control the Third World, perpetrating a dependency relationship and preventing the Third World from having self-determination and self-development. The goal of Third World nations is to struggle for liberation from this domination, and the role of those in the United States who seek to support the Third World is to support liberation rather than development. They also work in the United States to expose and eliminate United States policies and practices which are imperialist in relation to the Third World.

There is no easy resolution to these issues; the choices within them are exceedingly difficult to make. And the decisions are even more difficult for the Church, since either set of alternatives requires political choices and commitment. At the same time, there is no avoiding the choice; there is no immediate resolution or reconciliation between the opposing extremes, and every action vis-à-vis the Third World has this implicit choice within it.

As these alternatives are considered and are made part of an education awareness program, the voices of people from the Third World should not be forgotten. It is their condition and their future which is being considered, and those who represent all spectrums within their reality should be listened to. We should especially give attention to the contributions that Latin America and other Third World theologians are making in the areas of theology of liberation, conscientization, Christianity and Marxism, and others.

UNITED STATES DOMESTIC ISSUES AND THE THIRD WORLD

As we have seen, education for awareness and action with respect to the Third World begins with the relatively simple task of helping the people of the United States to have a more accurate picture of Third World people, their life styles and their issues. It becomes more complicated as the choice between the "one world view" and the "international view" is introduced, and even more complex with the addition of the choice between development or liberation support. The task reaches its most important and most controversial level with a final question.

Thus far, the issues which have been raised have only been those of the

Third World. All that has been dealt with in terms of the involvement of the people and nation of the United States is to understand and respond with support for the Third World. This final question has to do with United States issues rather than Third World issues. It asks the question of the relationship between the values and lifestyles of United States people and the problems of Third World people. To what extent are the domestic, political, economic, cultural, and religious issues related to the problems of the Third World?

The evidence is mounting, and the advocates are increasing to support the position that the most serious impediment to Third World development is not to be found in the Third World nor in the political and economic relationship between the western world and the Third World. Rather the most serious problem is to be found in the domestic values and life style of the United States and other western nations. According to this position the richness of the United States and the poverty of the Third World are two sides of the same coin, and the poverty of the Third World cannot be eliminated so long as the consumerism and materialism of the United States is permitted to continue. Conservative estimates are that more than 50 percent of the world's consumer goods in any given year are consumed in the United States by 6 percent of the world's population. And while some people claim these statistics as reason for pride, others see a shameful and causal relation between these figures and the conditions of Third World people.

There is no escape from this controversial issue. Concern for the Third World and for Third World awareness among United States people demands that this dimension of the problem also be part of educational awareness programs. It is not a matter of presenting either one or the other side of this matter as the truth. Nor is the goal to make United States people feel hopelessly guilty from self-condemnation. It is, rather, a matter of being responsible to a task that requires that the full story be told and all issues be considered. There should be no succumbing to the temptation to protect people from difficult or controversial issues. If there is a possibility that Third World change requires serious alternation of United States life style and values, then the people of the United States should be faced with this possibility, and be given the opportunity to respond.

Programs of Third World awareness should of necessity include an examination of the relation between United States domestic issues and Third World development in at least three specific areas: economy and life style, issues of justice and liberation, and racial minorities.

ECONOMY AND LIFE STYLE

If it is even partially true that the affluent economy of the United States is rooted in the poverty of the Third World, what will be our response when this kind of relationship is questioned and challenged? How can we prepare ourselves for this? How do we avoid the temptation to continue this relationship by force? What effects does the Church have in either creating or discouraging consumeristic life styles in the United States? How will the Church in the United States deal with the prevailing conviction that Christianity and Marxism are incompatible? Can the Church make publicly clear its political neutrality toward particular economic systems, but at the same time raise the issues of justice in alternative economic systems?

What can be done regarding the popular belief in western cultural superiority? The Christian Church and western culture are often thought of as one. It is not enough to simply create a more favorable image of Third World people and cultures. In addition, the Church must strive to proclaim and project a multi-cultural identification that crosses national and cultural borders. Consequently the United States Church has to raise questions about the nationalistic, cultural allegiance she has helped foster and perpetuate.

DOMESTIC ISSUES OF JUSTICE AND LIBERATION

In reality, there are no longer such things as domestic issues. There are only domestic expressions of international issues. Ecology, pollution, population control, men and women's roles, race relations, racial justice, the criminal justice system, the military and the draft, alcohol and drugs, health care, and many other current issues of justice and liberation in the United States--each has a definition and an expression which makes it an international issue. It is impossible to plan or execute programs of education for Third World awareness and action without realizing that domestic problems and Third World problems are inter-related.

It may not be so difficult to realize that the solutions to Third World problems are dependent upon changes made in the United States. It may be exceedingly difficult to bring about awareness that solutions to domestic problems are dependent upon the resolution of Third World and other international problems.

UNITED STATES RACIAL MINORITIES AND THE THIRD WORLD

For many people, the essential difference between the Third World and the nations of the western world is that the former contains, for the most part, people of color, and the latter contains primarily white people. Increasingly, Black and Brown people in the United States are identifying themselves as and with Third World people. There is an increasing awareness that the solution to United States minority problems is inseparable from the solution to the liberation and development problems of the Third World. Persons concerned either with United States minority problems or with the relationship between the United States and the Third World should be assisted in becoming more aware of inter-relationships between these two issues.

NORTH AMERICAN CONSCIENTIZATION

The final goal of an educational program for Third World awareness and action is not, therefore, a United States Lutheran Christian who knows more about, has a higher opinion of, and is more willing to respond to the needs of Third World people. In the terminology of those who are preparing programs on the internationalization of mission there is no "reversal of mission" in such goal; there is only the desire to improve upon one-way mission. It is not even sufficient to say that we are concerned about United States values and life styles because they may be detrimental to Third World liberation and development. Such motivation is still representative of one-way mission concepts. Ultimately, concern for United States values and life style must be expressed because they are detrimental to the present and future of the United States.

Reversal of mission means that the Churches in the rest of the world have a mission to the United States, to make the Gospel of Jesus Christ known and expressed in the United States, to assist in the search for values and life styles that are non-oppressive and just. The Church in the United States needs the ministry of the Church in the Third World, not only to bring about improved relations between the United States and the rest of the world, but also because the United States, for its own sake, is in need of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, of evangelization, of the liberation and social justice which the Gospel can create.

It is at this point that the process of conscientization becomes most relevant to this report. Thus far, the term "conscientization" has not been used to describe the task of education for awareness and action. This has been intentional, even though the original name of the project and its original directions were described in the terminology of conscientization. As the project entered its first months, we became aware of the fact that our use of the concept of conscientization was inaccurate and was, in fact, a contradiction to the original meaning of the concept. The process of conscientization, as developed by Paulo Freire and practiced in Latin America, is specifically designed to help a person become aware of her or his own oppression or "objectification," and to commit her or his own intentions and skills in struggling to overcome that oppression--in solidarity with others involved in the same struggle. Conscientization does not mean to become aware of someone else's reality or someone else's oppression, but our own.

It is, of course, very important for United States people to become aware of Latin American conditions of poverty and oppression. That is the first thing we must do. But that is not conscientization.

It is also very important for United States people to become aware of the ways in which our actions and life styles result in the oppression of Third World people. That is the second thing we must do. But that also is not conscientization.

The third thing that must be done is conscientization. That is, United States people must be helped to become aware of how our values and life styles which result in oppressing Third World people also result in hurting ourselves. United States people must become "conscienticized" to the fact that to whatever degree we are unable to alter those conditions which result in injustice to others, to that degree we are objectified and oppressed by forces that control and imprison us. Whatever creates in us parochial values and nationalistic spirits is oppressive to us; whatever forces manipulate us to be consumeristic and materialistic at the expense of others are imprisoning forces; whenever institutions act in oppressive ways, and we cannot stop or control them, we are being objectified by them; whatever religious values there are which equate Christianity with capitalism and western culture, they are oppressive and are destroying us as a Christian people. Conscientization means for people of the United States to become aware of those forces which objectify, dehumanize, and oppress us, and to make us aware of the possibility of overcoming them.

CONCLUSION: INTERNATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

There must be, therefore, three basic components in any educational program designed to create new attitudes and action among Lutheran Christians in the United States with regard to the Third World. The absence of any one of these components, we believe, will render useless the effects of the other two. These three components are as follows:

1. Presenting new information and new attitudes with regard to Third World people and countries.

2. Creating new understanding of the relationship between Third World change and United States policy, economy, values, and lifestyle.

3. Doing United States conscientization--becoming aware of our own "objectification," of our imprisonment in attitudes, values, and life styles which prevent our changing; understanding our own selves, our country, our churches, our issues and problems within an international context; developing a sense of direction for the future that includes commitment to our own liberation as well as to the liberation of others.

Excerpted from
A CALL TO ACTION

Apostolic Letter
on the Eightieth Anniversary of Rerum Novarum
from Pope Paul VI to Cardinal Maurice Roy

CHRISTIANS FACE TO FACE WITH THESE NEW PROBLEMS

DYNAMISM OF THE CHURCH'S SOCIAL TEACHING

42* In the face of so many new questions the Church makes an effort to reflect in order to give an answer, in its own sphere, to men's expectations. If today the problems seem original in their breadth and their urgency, is man without the means of solving them? It is with all its dynamism that the social teaching of the Church accompanies men in their search. If it does not intervene to authenticate a given structure or to propose a ready-made model, it does not thereby limit itself to recalling general principles. It develops through reflection applied to the changing situations of this world, under the driving force of the Gospel as the source of renewal when its message is accepted in its totality and with all its demands. It also develops with the sensitivity proper to the Church which is characterized by a disinterested will to serve and by attention to the poorest.

Finally, it draws upon its rich experience of many centuries which enables it, while continuing its permanent preoccupations, to undertake the daring and creative innovations which the present state of the world requires.

FOR GREATER JUSTICE

43. There is a need to establish a greater justice in the sharing of goods, both within national communities and on the international level. In international exchanges there is a need to go beyond relationships based on force, in order to arrive at agreements reached with the good of all in mind. Relationships based on force have never in fact established justice in a true and lasting manner, even if at certain times the alternation of positions can often make it possible to find easier conditions for dialogue. The use of force moreover leads to the setting in motion of opposing forces, and from this springs a climate of struggle which opens the way to situations of extreme violence and to abuses. 27

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* Paragraph and footnote numbering as in the original U.S.C.C. edition.

But, as we have often stated, the most important duty in the realm of justice is to allow each country to promote its own development, within the framework of a cooperation free from any spirit of domination, whether economic or political. The complexity of the problems raised is certainly great, in the present intertwining of mutual dependences. Thus it is necessary to have the courage to undertake a revision of the relationships between nations, whether it is a question of the international division of production, the structure of exchanges, the control of profits, the monetary system,--without forgetting the actions of human solidarity--to question the models of growth of the rich nations and change people's outlooks, so that they may realize the prior call of international duty, and to renew international organizations so that they may increase in effectiveness.

44. Under the driving force of new systems of production, national frontiers are breaking down, and we can see new economic powers emerging, the multinational enterprises, which by the concentration and flexibility of their means can conduct autonomous strategies which are largely independent of the national political powers and therefore not subject to control from the point of view of the common good. By extending their activities, these private organizations can lead to a new and abusive form of economic domination on the social, cultural and even political level. The excessive concentration of means and powers that Pope Pius XI already condemned on the fortieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum* is taking on a new and very real image.

CHANGE OF ATTITUDES AND STRUCTURES

45. Today men yearn to free themselves from need and dependence. But this liberation starts with the interior freedom that men must find again with regard to their goods and their powers; they will never reach it except through a transcendent love for man, and, in consequence, through a genuine readiness to serve. Otherwise, as one can see only too clearly, the most revolutionary ideologies lead only to a change of masters: once installed in power in their turn, these new masters surround themselves with privileges, limit freedoms, and allow other forms of injustice to become established.

Thus many people are reaching the point of questioning the very model of society. The ambition of many nations, in the competition that sets them in opposition and which carries them along, is to attain technological, economic, and military power. This ambition then stands in the way of setting up structures in which the rhythm of progress would be regulated with a view to greater justice, instead of accentuating inequalities and living in a climate of distrust and struggle which would unceasingly compromise peace.

CHRISTIAN MEANING OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY

46. Is it not here that there appears a radical limitation to economics?

Economic activity is necessary and, if it is at the service of man, it can be "a source of brotherhood and a sign of Providence."[28] It is the occasion of concrete exchanges between man, of rights recognized, of services rendered and of dignity affirmed in work. Though it is often a field of confrontation and domination, it can give rise to dialogue and foster cooperation. Yet it runs the risk of taking up too much strength and freedom.[29] This is why the need is felt to pass from economics to politics. It is true that in the term "politics" many confusions are possible and must be clarified, but each man feels that in the social and economic field, both national and international, the ultimate decision rests with political power.

Political power, which is the natural and necessary link for ensuring the cohesion of the social body, must have as its aim the achievement of the common good. While respecting the legitimate liberties of individuals, families, and subsidiary groups, it acts in such a way as to create, effectively and for the well-being of all, the conditions required for attaining man's true and complete good, including his spiritual end. It acts within the limits of its competence, which can vary from people to people and from country to country. It always intervenes with care for justice and with devotion to the common good, for which it holds final responsibility. It does not, for all that, deprive individuals and intermediary bodies of the field of activity and responsibility which are proper to them and which lead them to collaborate in the attainment of this common good. In fact, "the true aim of all social activity should be to help individual members of the social body, but never to destroy or absorb them."[30] According to the vocation proper to it, the political power must know how to stand aside from particular interests in order to view its responsibility with regard to the good of all men, even going beyond national limits. To take politics seriously at its different levels--local, regional, national and worldwide--is to affirm the duty of man, of every man, to recognize the concrete reality and the value of the freedom of choice that is offered to him to seek to bring about both the good of the city and of the nation and of mankind. Politics are a demanding manner--but not the only one--of living the Christian commitment to the service of others. Without of course solving every problem, it endeavors to apply solutions to the relationships men have with one another. The domain of politics is wide and comprehensive, but it is not exclusive. An attitude of encroachment which would tend to set up politics as an absolute value would bring serious danger. While recognizing the autonomy of the reality of politics, Christians who are invited to take up political activity should try to make their choices consistent with the Gospel and, in the framework of a legitimate plurality to give both persona and collective witness to the seriousness of their faith by effective and disinterested service of men.

SHARING IN RESPONSIBILITY

47. The passing to the political dimension also expresses a demand made by the man of today: a greater sharing in responsibility and in decision-making. This legitimate aspiration becomes more evident as the cultural

level rises, as the sense of freedom develops and as man becomes more aware of how, in a world facing an uncertain future, the choices of today already condition the life of tomorrow. In Mater et Magistra[31] Pope John XXIII stressed how much the admittance to responsibility is a basic demand of man's nature, a concrete exercise of his freedom and a path to his development, and he showed how, in economic life and particularly in enterprise, this sharing in responsibilities should be ensured.[32] Today the field is wider, and extends to the social and political sphere in which a reasonable sharing in responsibility and in decisions must be established and strengthened. Admittedly, it is true that the choices proposed for a decision are more and more complex; the considerations that must be borne in mind are numerous and the foreseeing of the consequences involves risk, even if new sciences strive to enlighten freedom at these important moments. However, although limits are sometimes called for, these obstacles must not slow down the giving of wider participation in working out decisions, making choices and putting them into practice. In order to counterbalance increasing technocracy, modern forms of democracy must be devised, not only making it possible for each man to become informed and to express himself, but also by involving him in a shared responsibility.

Thus human groups will gradually begin to share and to live as communities. Thus freedom, which too often asserts itself as a claim for autonomy by opposing the freedom of others, will develop in its deepest human reality: to involve itself and to spend itself in building up active and lived solidarity. But, for the Christian, it is by losing himself in God who sets him free that man finds true freedom, renewed in the death and resurrection of the Lord.

CALL TO ACTION

NEED TO BECOME INVOLVED IN ACTION

48. In the social sphere, the Church has always wished to assume a double function: first to enlighten minds in order to assist them to discover the truth and to find the right path to follow amid the different teachings that call for their attention; and secondly to take part in action and to spread, with a real care for service and effectiveness, the energies of the Gospel. Is it not in order to be faithful to this desire that the Church has sent on an apostolic mission among the workers priests who, by sharing fully the condition of the worker, are at that level the witnesses to the Church's solicitude and seeking?

It is to all Christians that we address a fresh and insistent call to action. In our encyclical on the Development of Peoples we urged that all should set themselves to the task: "Laymen should take up as their own proper task the renewal of the temporal order. If the role of the hierarchy is to teach and to interpret authentically the norms of morality to be followed in this matter, it belongs to the laity, without waiting passively for orders and directives, to take the initiative freely and to infuse a Christian spirit into the mentality, customs, laws, and structures of the community in which they live."[33] Let each one examine himself to see what he has done up to now, and what he ought to do. It is not enough to recall principles, state intentions, point to crying injustices and utter prophetic denunciations; these words will lack real weight unless they are accompanied for each individual by a livelier awareness of personal responsibility and by effective action. It is too easy to throw back on others responsibility for injustices, if at the same time one does not realize how each one shares in it personally, and how personal conversion is needed first. This basic humility will rid action of all inflexibility and sectarianism; it will also avoid discouragement in the face of a task which seems limitless in size. The Christian's hope comes primarily from the fact that he knows that the Lord is working with us in the world, continuing in his Body which is the Church--and, through the Church, in the whole of mankind--the Redemption which was accomplished on the Cross and which burst forth in victory on the morning of the Resurrection.[34] This hope springs also from the fact that the Christian knows that other men are at work, to undertake actions of justice and peace working for the same ends. For beneath an outward appearance of indifference, in the heart of every man there is a will to live in brotherhood and a thirst for justice and peace, which is to be expanded.

49. Thus, amid the diversity of situations, functions, and organizations, each one must determine, in his conscience, the actions which he is called to share in. Surrounded by various currents into which, beside legitimate aspirations, there insinuate themselves more ambiguous tendencies, the Christian must make a wise and vigilant choice and avoid involving himself in collaboration without conditions and contrary to the principles of a true humanism, even in the name of a genuinely felt solidarity. If in fact he wishes to play a specific part as a Christian in accordance with his faith--a part that unbelievers themselves expect of him--he must take care in the midst of his active commitment to clarify his motives and to rise above the objectives aimed at, by taking a more all-embracing view which will avoid the danger of selfish particularism and oppressive totalitarianism.

PLURALISM OF OPTIONS

50. In concrete situations, and taking account of solidarity in each person's life, one must recognize a legitimate variety of possible options. The same Christian faith can lead to different commitments.[35] The Church invites all Christians to take up a double task of inspiring and of innovating, in order to make structures evolve, so as to adapt them to the real needs of today. From Christians who at first sight seem to be in opposition, as a result of starting from differing options, she asks an effort at mutual understanding of the other's positions and motives; a loyal examination of one's behavior and its correctness will suggest to each one an attitude of more profound charity which, while recognizing the differences, believes nonetheless in the possibility of convergence and unity. "The bonds which

unite the faithful are mightier than anything which divides them."[36]

It is true that many people, in the midst of modern structures and conditioning circumstances, are determined by their habits of thought and their functions, even apart from the safeguarding of material interests. Others feel so deeply the solidarity of classes and cultures that they reach the point of sharing without reserve all the judgments and options of their surroundings.[37] Each one will take great care to examine himself and to bring about that true freedom according to Christ which makes one receptive to the universal in the very midst of the most particular conditions.

51. It is in this regard too that Christian organizations, under their different forms, have a responsibility for collective action. Without putting themselves in the place of the institutions of civil society, they have to express, in their own way and rising above their particular nature, the concrete demands of the Christian faith for a just, and consequently necessary transformation of society.[38]

Today more than ever the Word of God will be unable to be proclaimed and heard unless it is accompanied by the witness of the power of the Holy Spirit, working within the action of Christians in the service of their brothers, at the points in which their existence and their future are at stake.

52. In expressing these reflections to you, venerable brother, we are of course aware that we have not dealt with all the social problems that today face the man of faith and men of goodwill. Our recent declarations--to which has been added your message of a short time ago on the occasion of the launching of the Second Development Decade--particularly concerning the duties of the community of nations in the serious question of the integral and concerted development of man, are still fresh in people's minds. We address these present reflections to you with the aim of offering to the Council of the Laity and the Pontifical Commission Justice and Peace some fresh contributions, as well as an encouragement, for the pursuit of their task of "awakening the People of God to a full understanding of its role at the present time" and of "promoting the apostolate on the international level."[39]

It is with these sentiments, venerable brother, that we impart to you our Apostolic Blessing.

From the Vatican, May 14, 1971.

Paulus P. P. VI

NOTES

27. *Populorum Progressio*, 56ff.: *AAS* 59 (1967), pp. 285ff.

28. *Ibidem*, 86: p. 229.

29. *Gaudium et Spes*, 63: *AAS* 58 (1966), p. 1085.

30. *Quadragesimo Anno*: *AAS* 23 (1931), p. 203; cf. *Mater et Magistra*: *AAS* 53 (1961), p. 414, 428; *Gaudium et Spes*, 74-76: *AAS* 58 (1966), pp. 1095-1100.

31. *AAS* 53 (1961), pp. 420-422.

32. *Gaudium et Spes*, 68, 75: *AAS* 58 (1966), pp. 1089-1090; 1097.

33. 81: *AAS* 59 (1967), pp. 296-297.

34. Cf. *Mt* 28:30; *Phil* 2:8-11.

35. *Gaudium et Spes*, 43: *AAS* 58 (1966), p. 1061.

36. *Ibidem*, 93: p. 1113.

37. Cf. 1 *Thess* 5:21.

38. *Lumen Gentium*, 31: *AAS* 57 (1965), pp. 37-38; *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, 5: *AAS* 58 (1966), p. 842.

39. *Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam*, *AAS* 59 (1967), pp. 27 and 26.

DIVISION IS THE PROBLEM OF THE THIRD WORLD

Text of a speech delivered by Julius K. Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, to the Maryknoll Sisters in New York on October 16, 1970.

Poverty is not the real problem of the modern world. For we have the knowledge and resources which could enable us to overcome poverty. The real problem--the thing which creates misery, wars, and hatred among men--is the division of mankind into rich and poor.

We can see this division at two levels. Within nation states there are a few individuals who have great wealth and whose wealth gives them great power; but the vast majority of people suffer from varying degrees of poverty and deprivation. Even in a country like the United States, this division can be seen. In countries like India, Portugal, or Brazil, the contrast between the wealth of a few privileged individuals and the dire poverty of the masses is a crying scandal.

And looking at the world as a collection of nation states, we see the same pattern repeated. There are a few wealthy nations which dominate the whole world economically, and therefore politically; and a mass of smaller and poor nations whose destiny, it appears, is to be dominated.

The significance about this division between the rich and the poor is not simply that one man has more food than he can eat, more clothes than he can wear, and more houses than he can live in, while others are hungry, unclad and homeless. The significant thing about the division between rich and poor nations is not simply that one has the resources to provide comfort for all its citizens, and the other cannot provide basic services. The reality and depth of the problem arises because the man who is rich has power over the lives of those who are poor, and the rich nation has power over the policies of those which are not rich. And even more important is that our social and economic system, nationally and internationally, supports these divisions and constantly increases them, so that the rich get ever richer and more powerful, while the poor get relatively ever poorer and less able to control their own future.

This continues despite all the talk of human equality, the fight against poverty, and development. Still the rich individuals within nations, and the rich nations within the world, go on getting richer very much faster than the poor overcome their poverty. Sometimes this happens through the deliberate decision of the rich, who use their wealth and their power to that end. But often--perhaps more often--it happens "naturally" as a result of the normal workings of the social and economic systems men have constructed for themselves. Just as water from the driest regions of the earth ultimately flows into the oceans where water is already plentiful, so wealth flows from the poorest nations and the poorest individuals into the hands of those nations and those individuals who are already wealthy. A man who can afford to buy only one loaf of bread a day contributes to the profit accruing to the owner of the bakery, despite the fact that the owner already has more money than he knows how to use. And the poor nation which sells its primary commodities on the world market in order to buy machines for development finds that the prices it obtains, and the prices it has to pay, are both determined by the "forces of the free market" in which it is a pigmy competing with giants.

> For he that hath, to him shall be given; and he
> that hath not, that also which he hath shall be
> taken away from him.

Both nationally and internationally this division of mankind into the tiny minority of rich, and the great majority of poor, is rapidly becoming intolerable to the majority--as it should be. The poor nations and the poor peoples of the world are already in rebellion against it; if they do not succeed in securing change which leads towards greater justice, then that rebellion will become an explosion. Injustice and peace are in the long run incompatible; stability in a changing world must mean ordered change towards justice, not mechanical respect for the status quo.

It is in this context that development has been called another name for peace. It is this context which gives urgency to your deliberations on participation in the development of peoples.

MAN IS THE PURPOSE

The purpose of development is man. It is the creation of conditions, both material and spiritual, which enable man the individual, and man the species, to become his best. That is easy for Christians to understand because Christianity demands that every man should aspire towards union with God through Christ. But although the Church--as a consequence of its concentration upon man--avoids the error of identifying development with new factories, increased output, or greater national income statistics, experience shows that it all too often makes the opposite error. For the representatives of the Church, and the Church's organizations, frequently act as if man's development is a personal and "internal" matter, which can be divorced from the society and the economy in which he lives and earns his daily bread. They preach resignation; very often they appear to accept as immutable the social, economic, and political framework of the present-day world. They seek to ameliorate intolerable conditions through acts of love and of kindness where the beneficiary of this love and kindness remains an object. But when the victims of poverty and oppression begin to behave like men and try to change those conditions, the representatives of the Church stand aside.

My purpose today is to suggest to you that the Church should accept that the development of peoples means rebellion. At a given and decisive point in history men decide to act against those conditions which restrict their freedom as men. I am suggesting that, unless we participate actively in the rebellion against those social structures and economic organizations which condemn men to poverty, humiliation, and degradation, then the Church will become irrelevant to man and the Christian religion will degenerate into a set of superstitions accepted by the fearful. Unless the Church, its members and its organizations express God's love for man by involvement and leadership in constructive protest against the present conditions of man, then it will become identified with injustice and persecution. If this happens, it will die--and, humanly speaking, deserves to die,--because it will then serve no purpose comprehensible to modern man.

For man lives in society. He becomes meaningful to himself and his fellows only as a member of that society. Therefore, to talk of the development of man, and to work for the development of man, must mean the development also of that kind of society which serves man, which enhances his well-being, and preserves his dignity. Thus, the development of peoples involves economic development, social development, and political development. And at this time in man's history, it must imply a divine discontent and a determination for change. For the present condition of men must be unacceptable to all who think of an individual person as a unique creation of a living God. We say man was created in the image of God. I refuse to imagine a God who is poor, ignorant, superstitious, fearful, oppressed, wretched--which is the lot of the majority of those He created in his own image. Men are creators of themselves and their conditions, but under present conditions we are creatures, not of God, but of our fellow men.

Surely there can be no dispute among Christians about that. For mankind has never been so united or so disunited; has never had such power for good nor suffered under such evident injustices. Men's capacity has never been so clear, nor so obviously and deliberately denied.

The world is one in technological terms. Men have looked down on the Earth from the Moon and seen its unity. In jet planes I can travel from Tanzania to New York in a matter of hours. Radio waves enable us to talk to each other--either in love or abuse--without more than a few seconds elapsing between our speech and the hearing of it. Goods are made which include materials and skills from all over the world--and are then put up for sale thousands of miles from their place of manufacture.

Yet at the same time as the interdependence of man is increased through the advance of technology, the divisions between men also expand at an ever-increasing rate. The National Income per head in the United States is said to be more than $3,200 a year; in Tanzania it is approximately $80--i.e., it would take a Tanzanian forty years to earn what an American earns in one year, and we are not the poorest nation on earth. Further, it has been estimated that, while the rich countries are adding approximately $60 a year to the per capita income of their citizens, the average increase of per capita income in the poor countries is less than 2 dollars per year. It has been estimated that up to 500 million people on the earth today are suffering from hunger--from never having enough to eat. Further, one out of every two of the world's people is suffering from malnutrition--from deficiencies of protein or other essential health-giving foods. And finally, let me remind you that even within the wealthiest countries of the world, the misery and oppression of poverty is experienced by thousands, or even millions, of individuals, families and groups.

So the world is not one. Its peoples are more divided now, and also more conscious of their divisions, than they have ever been. They are divided between those who are satiated and those who are hungry. They are divided between those with power and those without power. They are divided between those who dominate and those who are dominated; between those who exploit and those who are exploited. And it is the minority which is well fed, and the minority which has secured control over the world's wealth and over their fellow men. Further, in general that minority is distinguished by the color of their skins and by their race. And the nations in which most of that minority of the world's people live have a further distinguishing characteristic--their adoption of the Christian religion.

These things cannot continue, and Christians, above all others, must refuse to accept them. For the development of men, and the development of peoples, demands that the world shall become one and that social justice shall replace the present oppressions and inequalities.

MAN IS A MEMBER OF SOCIETY

In order to achieve this, there must be economic development and equitable distribution of wealth. The poor nations, poor areas, and the poor peoples must be enabled to increase their output; through fair distribution they must be enabled to expand their consumption of the goods which are necessary for decency and for freedom.

For what is required is not simply an increase in the national income figures of the poor countries, nor a listing of huge increases in the production of this crop or that industry. New factories, roads, farms, and so on, are essential; but they are not enough in themselves. The economic growth must be of such a kind, and so organized, that it benefits the nations and the peoples who are now suffering from poverty. This means that social and political development must go alongside economic development--or even precede it. For unless society is so organized that the people control their own economies and their own economic activity, then economic growth will result in increased injustice because it will lead to increased inequality, both nationally and internationally. Those who control a man's livelihood control a man; his freedom is illusory and his equal humanity is denied when he depends upon others for the right to work and to eat. Equally, a nation is not independent if its economic resources are controlled by another nation; political independence is meaningless if a nation does not control the means by which its citizens can earn their living.

In other words, the development of peoples follows from economic development only if this latter is achieved on the basis of the equality and human dignity of all those involved. And human dignity cannot be given to a man by the kindness of others. Indeed, it can be destroyed by kindness which emanates from an action of charity. For human dignity involves equality and freedom and relations of mutual respect among men. Further it depends on responsibility, and on a conscious participation in the life of the society in which a man moves and works.

The whole structure of national societies and of international society is therefore relevant to the development of peoples. And there are few societies which can now be said to serve this purpose; for there are few--if any--which both accept, and are organized to serve, social justice in what has been called the Revolution of Rising Expectations.

Certainly it is difficult to argue that the societies in which the Catholic Church operates, and has most influence, are organized for social justice; it is impossible to demonstrate that these societies serve social justice. Under capitalism the greatest advances in technology and economic growth have been achieved. But the decisions as to what goods shall be produced, and how they shall be produced, are made by a small number of people who have obtained control over land and capital. And the determining factor in all their decision-making is whether the activity will yield a monetary profit, or power, or prestige, to them as owners of the land or capital. The needs of mankind are secondary, if they are considered at all. There is no profit in producing cheap houses, so they are not produced; there is "no money" for schools and hospitals. But luxury apartments can be built, and six-lane highways; for these things money can be found. And the result is a few men living in great luxury, using the wealth produced by man for their own grandeur and to ensure their own power. At the same time masses of men, women, and children are reduced to beggary, squalor, and to the humiliation of that disease and soul-destroying insecurity which arises out of their enforced poverty.

Let us be quite clear about this. If the Church is interested in man as an individual, it must express this by its interest in the society of which those individuals are members. For men are shaped by the circumstances in which they live. If they are treated like animals, they will act like animals. If they are denied dignity, they will act without dignity. If they are treated solely as a dispensable means of production, they will become soulless "hands," to whom life is a matter of doing as little work as possible and then escaping into the illusion of happiness and pride through vice.

Therefore, in order to fulfil its own purpose of bringing men to God, the Church must seek to ensure that men can have dignity in their lives and in their work. It must itself become a force of social justice and it must work with other forces of social justice wherever they are, and whatever they are called. Further, the Church must recognize that men can only progress and can only grow in dignity by working for themselves and working together for their common good. The Church cannot uplift a man; it can only help to provide the conditions and the opportunity for him to co-operate with his fellows to uplift himself.

THE MEANING OF SERVICE TODAY

What does this mean for those who give their lives to the service of the Church?

First, it means that kindness is not enough; piety is not enough; and charity is not enough. The men who are now suffering from poverty, whether they are in the Third World or in the developed world, need to be helped to stretch themselves; they need to be given confidence in their own ability to take control of their own lives. And they need to be helped to take this control, and use it themselves for their own purposes. They need their uhuru, and meaningful uhuru. This is important to the Church, as well as to mankind. For until men are in a position to make effective choices, few of them will become Christians in anything but name. Their membership of the Church will be simply another method by which they seek to escape from a consciousness of their misery: If you like; religion becomes a kind of opium of the people.

Everything which prevents a man from living in dignity and decency must therefore be under attack from the Church and its workers. For there is, in fact, nothing saintly in imposed poverty and, although saints may be found in slums, we cannot preserve slums in order to make them breeding grounds for saints. A man who has been demoralized by the conditions under which he is forced to live is no use to himself, to his family, or to his nation. Whether he can be of much use to God is not for me to judge.

The Church has to help men to rebel against their slums; it has to help them do this in the most effective way it can be done. But most of all the Church must be obviously and openly fighting all those institutions and power groups which contribute to the existence and maintenance of the physical and spiritual slums--regardless of the consequences to itself or its members. And, wherever and however circumstances make it possible, the Church must work with the people in the positive tasks of building a future based on social justice. It must participate actively in initiating, securing, and creating the changes which are necessary and which will inevitably take place.

Only by doing these things can the Church hope to reduce hatred and promote its doctrine of love to all men. Its love must be expressed in action against evil, and for good. For if the Church acquiesces in established evils, it is identifying itself and the Christian religion with injustice by its continuing presence.

Secondly, the members of the Church must work with the people. It may sound odd to be saying this to the Maryknoll Sisters, but it is important that we should stress the working with, not the working for. For it is not the task of religious leaders to try to tell people what they should do.

What is necessary is sharing on the basis of equality and common humanity. Only by sharing work, hardships, knowledge, persecution, and progress can the Church contribute to our growth. And this means sharing in every sense as "members one of another." For if the Church is not part of our poverty, and part of our struggle against poverty and injustice, then it is not part of us.

I think another changing function of religious members is in relation to the social services. In many areas of the world--and particularly in Africa --the Catholic Church has built its own schools and its own hospitals. These have been invaluable; they have provided education and medical care when there would otherwise have been none. But I believe that such provision should be an interim measure, and that, wherever possible, the Church members should be working with, and through, the organizations owned and controlled by the people themselves. Nuns and Brothers should be working in State schools and nursing in State hospitals; they should be District Nurses in a national, regional, or city structure. By adopting this kind of policy wherever it is possible, the Church will be showing that its purpose is service to the people, and not control of them. By separating the provision of service from its evangelical activities, the Church will make clear that it desires men's conversion to Christianity to come from conviction, not from gratitude or from the compulsion of indebtedness.

Finally, I believe that members of religious organizations must encourage and help the people to cooperate together in whatever action is necessary for their development. What this will mean in practice will vary from one country to another, and from one part of a country to another part. Sometimes it will mean helping the people to form and to run their own co-operative villages. Sometimes it will mean helping the people to form their own trade unions--and not Catholic trade unions, but trade unions of workers regardless of religion. Sometimes it will mean the Church leaders involving themselves in nationalist freedom movements and being part of those movements. Sometimes it will mean co-operating with local Governments or other authorities; sometimes it will mean working in opposition to established authorities and powers. Always it means the Church being on the side of social justice and helping men to live together and work together for their common good.

Let us admit that, up to now, the record of the Church in these matters has not been a good one. The countries which we immediately think of as Catholic countries are not those in which the people enjoy human dignity and in which social justice prevails. Nor are they countries in which there has been great economic progress. The Church is not without influence in Latin America; and I am told that one-third of all the Catholics of the world live in that subcontinent. Yet we do not associate that part of the world with progress and social justice. On the contrary, the conditions of poverty, of exploitation, and misery in Latin American countries are too well-known to require comment from me. Spain, where the Church is powerful, is not a paragon of freedom and justice. It may not be completely irrelevant to mention also that Italy and France have the largest communist parties in the Western World. All these things are a reflection of failure on the part of the Catholic Church, its leaders, and its workers.

There are priests (and sometimes Bishops) in many countries of Latin America, Jesuit brothers and secular priests in Spain, priests and bishops in Rhodesia and South Africa, and some in other countries of the world, who work with the people and speak for them. Some of these priests have been assassinated, some have been imprisoned, some have been tortured; some, unfortunately, have been dismissed or relocated by the Church hierarchy. But all of them are redeeming the reputation of Catholicism and organized Christianity and are showing what can be done and what must be done, even if it is at the cost of great sacrifice. Their work is invaluable; but we have to admit that they are too few and have much leeway to make up.

For until quite recently the Church was silent on the great issues of man in society, or even sided with those whose exclusive concern was their own power and the accumulation of riches. Even now, despite the teachings of Pope John and Pope Paul and the deliberations of the Second Vatican Council, the most usual practice of the Church is the upholding of the established order--regardless of its implications. It is this practice which we have now to change. For these individual Churchmen and women who are working for social justice need the comfort and support of the whole Church in their suffering for the teachings of Christ. They are acting according to the dictates of their conscience and, in doing so, they are showing us the way forward. But all too often they find that they have to work in isolation from their Catholic brethren. They find that the whole Church has not yet committed itself to justice here on earth.

In Portuguese colonies in Africa we see the same thing. For centuries the Church has, without protest, accepted forced labor, torture, exploitation, and alien domination. Even now the Church refuses to speak up against the colonialism and oppression in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea Bissau. It is true that in recent months His Holiness has received in audience three of the nationalist leaders; but this in only a beginning. Unless it is followed up by open speech and by action, the identification of the Catholic Church with Portuguese tyranny will continue.

I am not asking that the Church should surrender its functions or allow itself to be identified with particular political parties or political doctrines. On the contrary, what I am saying amounts to a demand that it should stop allowing itself to be identified with unjust political and economic power groups. For the Church should want to be identified with the pursuit of social justice. And that is what I am asking you to promote. The poor and the oppressed should come to you not for alms, but for support against injustice.

CO-OPERATION WITH NON-CATHOLICS

It is not necessary to agree with everything a man believes, or says, in order to work with him on particular projects or in particular areas of activity. The Church must stand up for what it believes to be right; that is its justification and purpose. But it should welcome all who stand on the same side and continue regardless of which individuals or groups it is then opposing.

A good does not become evil if a communist says it is a good; and an evil does not become good if a fascist supports it. Exploiting the poor does not become a right thing to do because communists call it a wrong thing; production for profit rather than meeting human needs does not become more just because communists say it leads to injustice. Organizing the society in such a manner that people live together and work together for their common good does not become an evil because it is called socialism. A system based on greed and selfishness does not become good because it is labelled free enterprise. Let the Church choose for itself what is right and what is wrong in accordance with Christian principles, and let it not be affected by what other groups or individuals do or say. But let it welcome cooperation from all those who agree with its judgments.

> Then shall the king say to them that shall be on his right hand: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.
>
> "For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger, and you took me in.
>
> "Naked, and you covered me; sick, and you visited me; I was in prison, and you came to me."
>
> Then shall the just answer him, saying: "Lord, when did we see thee hungry and fed thee; thirsty and gave thee drink?
>
> "And when did we see thee a stranger and took thee in? Or naked and covered thee?
>
> "Or when did we see thee sick or in prison and came to thee?"
>
> And the king answering shall say to them: "Amen, I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me."

We know that we are fallible men and that our task is to serve, not to judge. Yet we accept into the Church (provided only that they come to mass every Sunday and pay their dues or contribute to missionary activities) those who create and maintain the present political and economic system. But it is this system which has led to millions being hungry, thirsty and naked; it is this system which makes men strangers in their own countries because they are poor, powerless and oppressed; it is this system which condemns millions to preventable sickness, and which makes prisoners of men who have the courage to protest. What right, then, have we to reject those who serve mankind, simply because they refuse to accept the leadership of the Church, or refuse to acknowledge the divinity of Jesus or the existence of God? What right have we to presume that God Almighty takes no notice of those who give dedicated services to those millions of His children who hunger and thirst after justice, just because they do not do it in His Name? If God were to ask the wretched of the earth who are their friends, are we so sure that we know their answer? And is that answer irrelevant to those who seek to serve God?

> Not every one that saith to me, "Lord, Lord," shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven, he shall enter into the kingdom of heaven.
>
> Many will say to me that day: "Lord, Lord, have not we prophesied in thy name and cast out devils in thy name and done many miracles in thy name?"
>
> And then will I profess unto them: "I never knew you; depart from me, you that work iniquity."

Yet this is not all. Just as we must not be afraid of working with men of different religious convictions or of none, nor must we allow ourselves to be frightened by new ideas, new plans, or new projects. The world needs new ideas, new organizations, as much as it needs to apply the truths of Christianity; indeed, we need new ways of applying these truths in the technological world of the twentieth century. It is the job of the Church to find these new paths forward, and to recognize them when they are pointed out by others. Fear of the future, and of the needs of the future, is no part of Christianity. Ours is a living faith, if you like, a revolutionary faith, for faith without action is sterile, and action without faith is meaningless.

> I am come that they may have life and may have it more abundantly.

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

What all this amounts to is a call to the Church to recognize the need for social revolution and to play a leading role in it. For it is a fact of history that almost all the successful social revolutions which have taken place in the world have been led by people who were themselves beneficiaries under the system they sought to replace. Time and again members of the privileged classes have joined, and often led, the poor or oppressed in their revolts against injustice. The same thing must happen now.

Within the rich countries of the world the beneficiaries of educational opportunity, of good health, and of security must be prepared to stand up and demand justice for those who have up to now been denied these things. Where the poor have already begun to demand a just society, at least some members of the privileged classes must help them and encourage them. Where they have not begun to do so, it is the responsibility of those who have had greater opportunities for development to arouse the poor out of their poverty-induced apathy. And I am saying that Christians should be prominent among those who do this, and that the Church should seek to increase the numbers and the power of those who refuse to acquiesce in established injustices.

The same is true also as regards the international scene. The poor and backward countries are beginning to speak up and to protest against their condition. But they gain strength and effectiveness because of countries like the Scandinavian nations and Canada, which are beginning to recognize the insecurity and the injustice of their wealth in a world of poverty, and which are beginning to take a leading part in urging change.

I am saying that the Church should join with these nations and, if possible, help to increase their number. I am saying that it should be one of the group of nations and institutions which reject domination by the rich for the benefit of the rich. And it should be the function of Church members in wealthy countries to enlarge the group opposed to international exploitation of the poor and oppression of the weak.

Only by its activity in these fields can the Church justify its relevance in the modern world. For the purpose of the Church is man--his human dignity, and his right to develop himself in freedom. To the service of man's development, any or all of the institutions of any particular society must be sacrificed if this should be necessary. For all human institutions, including the Church, are established in order to serve man. And it is the institution of the Church, through its members, which should be leading the attack on any organization, or any economic, social, or political structure which oppresses men, and which denies to them the right and power to live as the sons of a loving God.

In the poor countries the Church has this same role to play. It has to be consistently and actively on the side of the poor and unprivileged. It has to lead men towards Godliness by joining with them in the attack against the injustices and deprivation from which they suffer. It must co-operate with all those who are involved in this work; it must reject alliances with those who represent Mammon, and cooperate with all those who are working for man. Its members must go out as servants of the world, as men and women who wish to share their knowledge and their abilities with those whom they recognize as their brothers and their sisters in Christ.

Friends, there was a time when the Christian Church was persecuted and its members held in contempt and derision. Are the societies in which the Catholic Church now operates so just, or so organized for the service of God and man, that it is unnecessary to risk a similar rejection in the pursuit of social justice? I do not believe so. I believe with Teilhard de Chardin that "a Christian can joyfully suffer persecution in order that the world may grow greater. He can no longer accept death on the charge that he is blocking mankind's road."

It is appropriate that I should conclude with two quotations from the

Encyclical Letter of His Holiness Pope Paul VI On the Development of Peoples:

> If someone who has the riches of this earth sees his brother in need and closes his heart to him, how does the love of God abide in him?... To quote St. Ambrose: "You are not making a gift of possessions to the poor person, you are handing over to him what is his. For what has been given in common for the use of all you have arrogated to yourself...." That is, private property does not consitute for anyone an absolute and unconditioned right. No one is justified in keeping for his exclusive use what he does not need, when others lack necessities....

Later the same letter says:

> To wage war on misery and to struggle against injustice is to promote, along with improved conditions, the human and spiritual progress of all men, and therefore the common good of humanity. Peace cannot be limited to a mere absence of war, the result of an ever-precarious balance of forces. No, peace is something that is built up day after day, in the pursuit of an order intended by God, which implies a more perfect form of justice among men.

WORLD JUSTICE AND PEACE:
A RADICAL ANALYSIS FOR AMERICAN CHRISTIANS

by Eugene Toland, Thomas Fenton, and Lawrence McCulloch

INTRODUCTION

World Justice and Peace is fast becoming a top priority on the Church's agenda. Now that we have reformed the liturgy, updated theology, begun to democratize some of our structures, and begun to allow bishops and the laity to resume their rightful place in the Church, we can at long last start focusing our attention on the world.

As church people, however, it would be well to recognize some of the biases we might bring to our considerations of justice and peace. For example, we are often more comfortable with church statements and theologies of development which exhort us to be concerned about the poor than with doing the homework needed to grasp the economic, political, and historical facts that underlie particular injustices.

We also tend to deal with problems only at the individual, person-to-person level. Especially today when so much emphasis is put on the personal and the psychological, we tend to neglect the impact of institutions and systems on people. We often ignore the fact that certain systems, e.g., slavery, are in themselves unjust and therefore must be changed if we are to have any hope for justice and peace.

A third bias we can have as church people is to misread Christ's command to "love our enemies," so that our anger and impatience at injustice are neutralized. There was no paralysis in Christ when he went after the Pharisees and the moneylenders. Difficult as it might be for us to reconcile such things as class struggle with the gospel, the truth is that class struggle is not a concept to be debated but a crude fact of today's world.

If we are aware of some of these biases, we can seek to correct them. We can begin to analyze as well as moralize. We can look at systems as well as individuals. We can take sides in specific struggles while still trying to love those we oppose.

We can do this because, as church people, we have some definite pluses on our side. One of these is the freedom we have in Christ. We are tied to no particular interest group so we can be open to new approaches and new points of view and follow the facts wherever they may lead. Also because we have dedicated ourselves to the service of others, we should be willing to do the tedious homework needed to really understand the "whys" behind so many of the problems we face.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS PAPER

The purpose of this paper is to say that many of the injustices we see all around us cannot be understood and dealt with effectively if we treat them in isolation one from another. It is something like dealing with the weather. If we want to explain why it is cloudy one day and then sunny the next, or why it snows in one place and rains in another, we have to know as much as we can about the weather system. The weather at different times and in different places is not simply a collection of isolated events. It is a whole. It is a system.

In the same way, a child dying of malnutrition in one of the slums of Rio, or a black steelworker out of work in Gary, or an important banker riding comfortably in his limousine down Park Avenue--these are not merely isolated events. They are related to and dependent upon one another. They are part of a system.

More specifically this paper contends that the system which creates and sustains much of the hunger, underdevelopment, unemployment, and other social ills in the world today is capitalism. Capitalism is by its very nature a system which promotes individualism, competition, and profit-making with little or no regard for the social cost. It puts profits and private gain before social services and human needs. As such it is an unjust system which should be replaced.

In stating this quite strongly and in trying to prove it, it is our intention to raise the issue of capitalism as a legitimate and urgent topic for discussion.

The best way to do this, we feel, is to come to grips with certain myths about capitalism that hide its real nature from us. Again, it is like talking about the weather. As long as we think thunder is caused by Apollo clapping his hands, or lightning is a bolt of Zeus getting even with one of his arch-rivals, we will never really understand what the weather system is all about. Myths serve a role in poetry and literature but not in trying to understand the vital issues of our day, the issues of world poverty, hunger, underdevelopment, racism, war, etc. For this we need facts, facts that shed light on the cause of some of these problems and how they can be dealth with.

In this paper we will respond to certain myths about capitalism, myths about its origins, its impact on the underdeveloped world, what it looks like and how it operates today, both in the U.S. and throughout the "free world." These are myths that are rarely articulated, much less challenged, in many of our church discussions on world justice and peace.

ORIGINS OF CAPITALISM

Myth No. 1: The first capitalist countries (England, France, the Netherlands, etc.) developed by pulling themselves up by their own bootstraps.

Fact: England and other European countries developed largely because they had sea power to dominate the peoples and exploit the resources of newly discovered lands. From the conquest and the pillage of Mexico and Peru by the Spaniards, to the sacking of Indonesia by the Portuguese and the Dutch, to the exploitation of India by the British, the early history of capitalist development is an unbroken record of the international exploitation and consequent concentration of wealth in Western Europe.

It is estimated that over 500 million gold pesos were exported from Latin America between 1500 and 1600.[1] The total wealth taken out of Indonesia by the Dutch East India Company for the period 1650-1780 amounted to more than 600 million gold florin.[2] In eighteenth century France, profits from the slave trade amounted to nearly half a billion livres.[3] In the British West Indies, the profit from the labor of blacks during the same period amounted to over 300 million pounds.[4] Finally, the result of the British plunder of India between 1750 and 1800 is estimated conservatively at 150 million pounds.[5] In other words, the total amount taken by Western Europe from the rest of the world at the beginning stage of its "modern" development comes to over a billion pound sterling, or more than the capital of all the industrial enterprises which existed in Europe around 1800![6]

Economists today talk about the necessity of large amounts of capital investment for an industrial economy to reach a point of "take-off," a point of sustained growth. The source of this capital for European industrial expansion came not only from the bitter exploitation of its own working class, e.g., the notorious sweat shops of Lancaster and the coal towns of South Wales, but, to an even greater extent, from the plundering of the human and natural resources of the rest of the world.

Neither, of course, was the development of capitalism in the U.S. free of such plunder. The fortunes of many of our first bankers, merchants, shipbuilders,and plantation owners--i.e., the Pepperells, Cabots, Faneuils, etc. --were directly dependent on the slave trade.[7] Others, such as John Jacob Astor, made millions in the fur trade, plying Indians with liquor and even paying others to kill them, to make the new territories of the West safe for trapping and "honest business."[8] And the Robber Barons of the nineteenth century not only used cheap Chinese and Filipino labor to build the great railroads that span our continent but matched their European counterparts in exploiting men, women, and children in thousands of founderies and company towns throughout America, working people who had come to our shores "yearning to breathe free."

Indeed, while Europe had her colonies spread around the world, we had (even before the Spanish-American War of 1898 gave us Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines) our own "internal colonies," made up of millions of black slaves, Indians, and poorly paid workers, which generated the capital for our economic growth.

THE IMPACT OF CAPITALISM ON THE THIRD WORLD

Myth No. 2: The causes of underdevelopment in the poor countries of the "Third World" are ignorance, overpopulation, lack of natural resources, and primitive, pre-capitalist economic structures.

Fact: The underdevelopment of the "Third World" is the direct result of its being incorporated, for the last 400 years, into the global capitalist system.

Overpopulation cannot be the cause of underdevelopment and poverty in the Third World since the highest densities of population occur, not in the poor countries, but in the rich, developed countries. England has a population density of 586 per sq. mi.; West Germany, 606; Japan, 708; Belgium, 814; and the Netherlands, 938.[9] The poor countries, by comparison, have relatively low densities of population. India has 415 people per sq. mi.; the Philippines, 310; China, 197; Mexico, 62; Panama, 47; Brazil, 26; Tanzania, 25; Peru, 25; Paraguay, 12; and Gabon, 4.[10]

Neither is the Third World lacking in natural resources. The two countries with the world's largest deposits of iron ore are India, with 21 percent of the world's supply, and Brazil with 15 percent.[11] Oil, from Venezuela to Indonesia, is found in abundance. Copper, tin, zinc, bauxite, i.e., all the raw materials needed for modern, industrial societies, are equally plentiful. And agriculturally, from the pampas of Argentina to the Punjab of Pakistan, the poor countries have some of the richest and most fertile soil in the world, capable of feeding their populations many times over.

No, the misery and poverty found everywhere in the poor countries today is much more a result of man's doing. Europe, beginning with Columbus, did not go out and find "underdeveloped" countries; she created them. For example, the so-called system of "mono-cultural production" (a one crop or one mineral export economy), described by western experts as the source of backwardness in the Third World, is not a system that dropped from heaven. It was brought and imposed by the Europeans on all their colonies in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The sugar plant was brought by Columbus to the West Indies.[12] Soon millions of slaves were brought from Africa to work the sugar plantations and cut the immensely profitable cane. Rubber was taken from Brazil to Southeast Asia, where Indians and Chinese provided cheap labor.[13] Peanuts were brought from Brazil to West Africa and coffee from Arabia to Central and South America.[14] The best lands, originally providing healthy diets for their inhabitants, were expropriated to produce cash crops for the European market. Malnutrition and starvation have been the lot of native peoples ever since. (A particularly notorious example of this was the Northeast of Brazil, originally one of the most fertile regions of South America. It was completely ruined by the ruthless exploitation of its soil by the Dutch and Portuguese sugar plantations of the seventeenth century.[15])

Even in the area of manufacturing, it was the East which first provided finished goods for the more primitive economy of Europe. India in the seventeenth and eighteenth century had a large textile industry based on cottage-type organization. With the development of cottonopolis in Manchester and the need to export its production, English political domination resulted in the de-industrialization of India. Between 1815 and 1832 cotton exports from India fell 13 times. British imports to India increased 16 times. The maiming of the hands of thousands of Bengal weavers by British soldiers is an apt symbol of the whole process.[16]

CAPITALISM AND THE THIRD WORLD TODAY

Myth No. 3: Increased foreign private investment, government loans from the rich countries, and increased collaboration with the World Bank and other international development agencies is the only hope of development in the poor countries of the "Third World."

Fact: The strategy of the World Bank, western governments, and multinational corporations is one of self-interest. The strategy reinforces injustices in the internal structures of the poor countries. Even more it maintains a structure of neo-colonialism that provides for the rich nations privileged access to the raw materials and cheap labor of the Third World.

Poor countries are at the mercy of the developed countries mainly through their ever-increasing indebtedness. Their external debt as of 1967 was $41.5 billion and the annual servicing of that debt cost them $3.9 billion.[17] During the years 1962-1966, Latin America annually paid the U.S. $1.6 billion in debt service. This debt service alone exceeded all forms of economic assistance received from the U.S. during the same period.[18]

The main reason for this growing indebtedness is the worsening terms of trade affecting the exports of the underdeveloped countries. This means that the poor countries are receiving less for their exports while they have to pay more for the goods they import from the rich countries. Half of Malaya's exports, for example, are rubber. Between 1960 and 1961 rubber exports increased by 4 percent while their value fell 35 percent.[19] One half of Brazil's exports is coffee. Between 1953 and 1961 Brazil's coffee exports increased in volume by 90 percent but the revenue earned by these exports dropped by 35 percent.[20] The effects of "deteriorating terms of trade" is that a tractor which would have cost Brazil 165 bags of its coffee in 1960 actually cost 316 bags in 1969.[21]

As these countries try to maintain their imports (which often consist in consumer and luxury items for the wealthy landowners and industrialists who run the country) they seek increased foreign exchange by inviting in foreign private investments and negotiating new government or World Bank loans. But this merely adds salt to the wounds. The multi-national corporations soon begin to take out more in retained earnings, i.e., profits, than they originally invested and new loans from the World Bank and foreign aid programs only increase the debt.

In an attempt to offset this debt, occasionally the poor countries try to diversify their exports, especially in the area of manufactured goods, to bring in more foreign exchange. But these efforts are usually subverted by the developed countries who have the poor countries over an economic barrel. In 1966 Brazil set up its own factories for processing coffee and soon captured 14 percent of the U.S. market. U.S. coffee manufacturers (Tenco, General Foods, Standard Brands, etc.) complained of "unfair competition." The U.S. government immediately threatened not to renew the International Coffee Agreement, which maintains stable prices, and to cut off aid. In 1968, Brazil gave in. It imposed an export tax on its own processed coffee and thus destroyed the fledgling industry.[22]

Faced with the ever-increasing burden of debt, the poor countries have but one recourse. Following the "orthodox" economics imposed on them by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, i.e., that debt-serving and a balanced budget come before economic growth, they cut their federal budgets and devalued their currencies.[23] These are austerity measures that "stabilize" their economies. The victims of such "stabilization," of course, are not the wealthy elite, but the masses of the poor. Government spending for housing, education, health, and other non-productive programs is cut, and the cost of living rises since the entire economy is heavily dependent on imports.

CAPITALISM AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN THE U.S.

Myth No. 4: Reforms of the capitalist system within the United States have brought about a more equitable distribution of wealth and power among our people than ever before.

Fact: The distribution of wealth in the U.S. is almost identical with the distribution of wealth in India.[24] The only difference is that in the United States the economic pie is much bigger and so the results of this maldistribution are not quite as visible. Furthermore, with this wealth goes much of the control over the country's resources, industry, and public services.

In 1941, two-thirds of all manufacturing assets in the nation were controlled by 1,000 large corporations.[25] Today a mere 200 giant corporations control this same percentage, i.e., a cool $350 billion.[26] Despite the claim of "people's capitalism," these corporations are owned by less than 2 percent of the American population. According to the Lampman report, published in 1962, 80 percent of all corporate stocks was owned by the top 1.6 percent of the population, or 1.5 million people. Even more, the richest of the rich, the top 5 percent of this upper 1.6 percent, owned half of this group's stocks. Thus 75,000 people, each with assets of $500,000 or more, owned at least 40 percent of all corporate stock in the country![27]

Not only is the wealth of the nation, i.e., the factories, utilities, banks, etc., largely owned by a very small percentage of the population, but the yearly national income is equally maldistributed. According to a recent Brookings Institute study conducted by economist Joseph Pechman, the lowest fifth of American families receives only 3.2 percent of the national income while the highest fifth gets 45.8 percent, or more than fourteen times as much. Moreover, according to this study, the top one percent of American families receive more than twice the income of the 20 percent who occupy the bottom rungof the U.S. income ladder.[28]

An even more revealing way to look at the economy is through the influence and control which a mere handful of multi-billionaire families and financial groups have exerted for generations. The Rockefeller empire is not a thing of the past. Neither are the Dupont or Mellon trusts relics of another age. Again, precisely because these groups are anxious to keep the extent of their wealth from the public eye, accurate, up-to-date figures are not available. During the 1950's, however, several groups loomed on the economic horizon like elephants walking amidst ants. Although these groups regularly have interlocking interests in each other's area of influence, they are nevertheless distinguishable enough:

The Morgan Guaranty Trust Group, which includes in its sphere of influence General Electric, International Nickel, Standard Brands, Campbell Soup, Coca Cola, Upjohns, Mutual Life Insurance Co. of N.Y., etc.[29]

The Rockefeller Group, which included Chase Manhattan Bank, Equitable Life Assurance Co., Standard Oil of N.J., Eastern Airlines, General Foods, Borden, etc.[30]

The First National City Bank of N.Y. Group, which included Boeing, United Aircraft, Anaconda Copper, National Cash Register, etc.

The Mellon Group, which included ALCOA, Gulf Oil, Westinghouse, etc.[31]

The Dupont Group, which included Dupont Chemical, U.S. Rubber, Bendix Aviation, etc. (The Duponts recently had to sell their controlling interest in General Motors stock due to a court order. But the proceeds were merely reinvested in high growth, frequently defense-related, industries.)[32]

The Chicago Group, which unites many families, such as the McCormicks, the Deerings, the Nemours, and the Fields, included the First National City Bank of Chicago, Continental Illinois National Bank, International Harvester, Sears Roebuck, Inland Steel, etc. Other families and groups, such as the Harrimans (Philadelphia), the Hannas (Cleveland), the Fords (Detroit), the

Crockers (San Francisco), and the Hunts (Dallas) fill out the picture.

Although these families and groups compete with one another in trying to extend their spheres of influence, they also cooperate to run corporations that are too big for any one family or group to control. A good example is A.T.&T. On its board of directors are representatives of Chase Manhattan, First National City of N.Y., the Ford Foundation, the Chicago Group, and Morgan Guaranty Trust. It is truly a "collective possession" of the American upper class.[33]

The effects of this concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few are evident enough. A.T.&T., for example is the largest private employer in the country, having over a million people on its payrolls. Forty-five percent of its employees however are paid less than $7,000 per year (before taxes). What is particularly interesting is that only 4 percent of Bell's white males earn so little whereas 64 percent of all Spanish-surnamed employees, 79 percent of all black employees, and 80 percent of all female employees earn less than $7,000 annually.[34] Indeed, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission had characterized A.T.&T. as "without doubt the largest oppressor of woman workers in the U.S."[35]

And what is the response of A.T.&T.'s white male corporate elite to such obviously discriminatory practices? It is to fight desperately to maintain the present, very profitable, situation. The recent New York Telephone strike is a case in point. A.T.&T. used every means available to break the strike, principally by bringing in scab labor from New Jersey and other surrounding areas. As a result, after a several-months-long strike, the New York workers were forced to accept terms that were only $2 a week more than the company's pre-strike offer.[36]

Does this mean A.T.&T. is short on cash? Hardly. In 1970 A.T.&T. paid out more than $3 billion to stock and bond holders. In comparison labor costs only amounted to about $7 billion--out of a total annual revenue of $18 billion paid for by phone users all over the country.[37] When we examine who owns the largest shares of A.T.&T. stocks and bonds, we find once again that it is the upper 1.6 percent of the population. Maintaining this gravy-train, then, even at the cost of rising rates and poor service to customers and blatant exploitation of women and minority groups is in the best interest of A.T.&T.'s corporate elite.

Many similar examples could be given, in practically every industry from textiles to steel, from meat packing to gravedigging. Ultimately, however, the same simple fact emerges: money is power. Indeed, the power of the financial oligarchy in the United States rests specifically on the fact that it commands most of the country's money capital. The bank assets controlled by the main financial groups mentioned above are twice as large as the annual budget of the federal government. With this enormous wealth they dominate the American economy and determine its direction. Armed with the power to make key economic decisions concerning investments and the allocation of resources, they run their affairs and those of the nation according to the one rubric of corporate life: the maximization of profits.

CAPITALISM AND POLITICAL POWER IN THE U.S.

Myth No. 5: Despite the concentration of wealth in our country, we can trust in a democratically elected government to work for the welfare of all the people.

Fact: The small elite that runs our economy also dominates political life, especially at the federal level, making radical and far-reaching social reform almost impossible. Most members of the legislative and executive branches of the U.S. government are drawn from this financial elite and from the lawyers and economists who work for it. During the 90th Congress, the House of Representatives alone had 97 bankers, twelve of whom served on the House Banking Commission.[38]

One way this group uses its political influence to maintain and even increase its slice of the national wealth is through its manipulation of the tax structure. Despite claims of "progressive taxation," the rich and super-rich have consistently provided themselves with legal gimmicks and loopholes to protect their huge fortunes. The result is that the burden of ever higher, more unjust taxes increasingly falls onto the backs of lower and middle income families.

These gimmicks and loopholes are well known: oil depletion allowances, tax exempt bonds, capital gains write-offs, executive expense accounts, farm subsidies, stock options, etc. Avoiding taxes and growing fat at the federal trough is itself a big business. Here are a few examples:

In 1967, 21 millionaires paid no federal taxes at all.[39] In 1968, 155 persons with incomes exceeding $200 thousand paid no taxes.[40] From 1913 to the present the Rockefellers have paid less than $17 million in inheritance taxes on a fortune estimated at from $3 to $5 billion.[41]

In 1964, the Atlantic Oil Co. paid no taxes on its earnings of $410 million.[42] In 1962, Standard Oil of N.J., which has a greater income than most countries in the world, paid out only .6 percent of its staggering profits to the IRS.[43]

In 1963, the upper 1.6 percent of the population owned all municipal and state tax exempt bonds, worth $85.9 billion. These bonds provide for the very rich $2.5 billion of untaxed income every year.[44]

In 1966, $250 million in farm subsidies was paid to .02 percent of the population of Texas while 28 percent of the people living below the poverty line received less than $7 million in all forms of food assistance.[45] In 1968, a single farm in California, the J.G. Boswell Co., received over $3 million in subsidies[46] and the enormously wealthy Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Co. got a fat $1.2 million for not growing pineapples.[47]

These are but a few examples. They should help remind us that what we are dealing with in the United States, as Justice Douglas has said, is a system of socialism for the rich and "free enterprise" for the poor.[48]

Not only do the wealthy use their political influence to manipulate the tax system for their own benefit but, through such groups as the Council on Foreign Relations (presently headed by David Rockefeller) and the Brookings Institute, they have great influence on the shaping of our foreign policy.

Their interest in foreign policy, of course, does not arise from some unique patriotic fervor. It is strictly determined by dollars and cents. By 1970 the book value of U.S. private corporate investment overseas exceeded $65 billion (it was only $11.6 billion in 1945) and was growing rapidly.[49] In stimulating and protecting these lucrative investments the assistance of the government is indispensable. Foreign aid programs, for example, are used to secure concessions from weak foreign governments which fill the coffers of the multinational corporations. Dean Rusk put it well when he spoke to the Foreign Relations committee in 1968: "We do think as a matter of policy it would be wise and prudent on their side (other governments) to create conditions that would be attractive to the international investor. So our influence is used wherever it can be and persistently, through embassies on a day-to-day basis, in our aid discussions and in direct negotiations to underline the importance of private investment."[50]

When all else fails, of course, the corporate elite can resort to less subtle, more direct methods of persuasion. The invasion of the Dominican Republic by U.S. marines in 1965 is a classic example. The official reason was to prevent the island from going communist, though Juan Bosch, the popularly elected president deposed by the marines, was never a communist nor is he one today. The real reason was to protect the interests of American big business, which has for generations made super-profits off the poverty of the Dominican people.

For example, the South Puerto Rico Sugar Co. (5 Hanover Square, N.Y.) whose board of directors intertwines with the Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank, gets two-thirds of its sugar from the Dominican Republic. It had 120,000 acres in cane, 110,000 acres of pasture with choice livestock and 45,000 acres held in reserve (and economists wonder why the Dominican Republic has to import food from the U.S. to feed its own people!). It also owns a sugar mill, a furfural plant, a private railroad system, and a dock and bulk sugar loading station.[51]

In addition to this major investment, there was Alcoa Aluminum, owned by the billionaire Mellon family (852,000 tons of bauxite extracted in 1963, profits estimated at 47 percent),United Fruit, and the First National City Bank of N.Y.[52]

Together, these investments provided huge profits for the American upper class. Because of the "successful" 1965 invasion, they still do today.

The evidence is clear, then, that in the United States we have a financial elite which exercises political influence far out of proportion to its size. This elite uses its power primarily for itself and secondarily, if at all, for the welfare of the majority of Americans.

CAPITALISM AND PATRIOTISM

Myth No. 6: To attack capitalism is anti-American; it is to attack the system that has made this country great.

Fact: To attack capitalism is not anti-American for the simple reason that, as we have seen above, most Americans are not capitalists. The fact that, in a trillion dollar economy, we still have over thirty million Americans living in poverty and millions more with no real financial security (i.e., mortgages on homes, etc.) is striking proof that our economy is owned by and for a very small elite.

As Americans we are rightfully proud of our democratic traditions, traditions that uphold the rights of every individual to free speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, etc. We believe in a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. We are opposed, as Jefferson said, "to any form of tyranny over the mind of man." As a people, we agree that democracy, while maybe not the neatest and most efficient way to run a country, is still the best.

Because of this pride in American democracy, however, when we approach issues of justice and peace we have a difficult time distinguishing democracy from capitalism. Democracy, after all, is a political system. It is a system where people vote for candidates who will represent them in government and rule them for a limited period of time. Capitalism, however, is an economic system where, for example, one individual owns a factory and hires others to work in it. While few people would deny that democracy is a good thing, capitalism is a horse of a different color. In fact, capitalism is the opposite of democracy, since it is an economic system not owned by the people and run for the people, but a system owned and run by a plutocracy, i.e., the rich and super-rich.

Neither can we say that it is capitalism that has produced such great wealth in the United States. Those who have produced the wealth are the workers, blacks and whites, Greeks, Irish, Polish, and Chicano, generation after generation of hard-working men and women. And it is precisely these people, the working people of all races and creeds and nationalities, who have made America great, who must constantly struggle even to gain a minimal share in the wealth they have produced, as if it did not belong to them in the first place.

A phrase we hear a lot about today is "community control." In many respects this would represent the best in American democracy. Only when the people, both urban and rural, own their own land, their own factories, their own schools, their own banks, their own hospitals, and their own means of protection and law enforcement, will the vision of a truly democratic America become a reality. In many respects, this is a modern day version of Jeffersonian democracy: a country made up of artisans and family farmers, each person owning a part of the assets of this great land and sharing equally in the fruits of his own labor.

But the direction of the American economy today is just the opposite. Each year a quarter of a million family farmers leave their land[53] because they can no longer compete with the huge corporate agri-businesses that are gobbling up the countryside and dominating the purchasing and distribution of farm produce. Each year thousands of small businessmen close shop because they can no longer compete with the chain stores that undercut and outlast them. Each year hundreds of even medium and large companies are bought out and added to the growing list of subsidiaries of huge conglomerates.

No, speaking against capitalism is not speaking against what has made this country great. The people have made this country great and they deserve full democratic control over the economic as well as political aspects of their life.

CONCLUSION

We have looked, then, at some of the myths which prevent us from seeing clearly the nature of capitalism and how it really works. It is a myth that capitalism arose more from ingenuity than exploitation; that Asia, Africa, and Latin America are only now becoming part of the global, "free enterprise," system; that development in underdeveloped countries can only be achieved through more foreign, private investment; that there is a fair distribution of wealth in the United States; that the interests of the corporate elite in the U.S. are synonomous with the interests of the American people; that being against capitalism is un-American. These are myths and they are false.

With these myths gone we can better see the roots of many of the injustices which face us today. Bloated stomachs, refugees, chronic unemployment, crowded urban ghettos, rising taxes, the breakdown of social services to the aged, the handicapped, the imprisoned, the lack of money for schools, hospitals, mass transit, and the continuance of imperialistic wars, etc. are all products of a system--a system which reaps excess for the few and scatters crumbs for the many.

As men and women thirsting for justice we are naive if we fail to take a hard, critical look at this system. If we do not do our homework, we might jump to the false conclusion that it is the average working man, the average parishoner, the average white suburbanite who is the culprit. We are more on the mark if we recognize that a common characteristic of the white worker, most women, Chicanos, blacks, farmers, Indians, office workers, etc., be they here in the U.S. or in other countries, is that they are exploited by the super-rich in a system designed to be unfair.

Our hope in writing this paper is to provoke discussion about capitalism and to urge U.S. Church people to undertake a "radical" analysis of its effects upon the lives of American people and people everywhere. In doing this we can learn from the Church in Latin America. For some years it has been grappling with the harsh effects of unjust economic and political systems. In 1968 at Medellin, Colombia, it clearly stated that many of the problems its people face are the result of a system--a system of internal colonialism and external neocolonialism. As a result, the Church in Latin America is increasingly rejecting capitalism as a means to economic and human betterment and putting the gospel at the service of building a new kind of society.

We too need to explore the merits of an alternate system based not on competition and the profit motive, but on cooperation and solidarity. Socialism, by its definition, embodies these ideals and has, in a relatively short length of time, proven itself to be a viable alternative to capitalism. Granted, the specific form socialism would take in the United States, the richest country in the world, is an open question. But in light of all the serious problems we have in this country, such a discussion cannot be dismissed outright as naive, unpatriotic, or even unchristian. Indeed, the burden of proof lies with those who say that capitalism here or in any country can serve the needs of the poor and the powerless. The fact is that, as we have seen, it has been and continues to be the principal cause of underdevelopment and poverty in the world today.

Furthermore, to critically analyze the present system and begin a search for a more human alternative is to be true to our own best traditions. In the Scriptures we hear constantly of God's "biased justice," a justice always on the side of the poor and oppressed. And in our own history we read of how the Church, at the beginning of this century, gave crucial support to the working class struggle and the labor movement. Indeed, during a period when it was fashionable to believe Spencerian social concepts of the survival of the fittest and the right of big business to dictate its own terms to the working class, the Church stood on the side of labor and preached the primacy of the common good over individual gain.[54]

Now the question is whether capitalism itself is not the mother of much of the misery and injustice which plagues our earth, and, if it is, how we can replace it. We spoke at the beginning of some of the biases we church people often bring to our efforts to remove injustices and promote justice and peace. Another bias we have had frequently thrown back at us is that of inaction. We are accused of being Johnny-Come-Latelys in facing many of the recent social injustices of our time. Our great social justice documents have remained vague, dry, and destined for dusty bookshelves instead of the back pockets of organizers, fathers of families and the young. We need a new way of acting by which we can mobilize our total energies, idealism and dedication to fight injustice. Knowing the cause of injustice is a first step to effective action.

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CAN THE UNITED STATES PROMOTE FOREIGN DEVELOPMENT?

by Richard J. Barnet

PREFACE

During the last few years, the assumptions underlying America's role in development assistance have been called into question by an increasing number of people. This was to be expected with the waning of the Cold War, the widespread disillusionment in this country with our experience in Vietnam, and the growing gaps in many developing countries between the poor and those better off. There has begun a process of rethinking the relationship of the United States to the hundred or so countries of the developing world. This process is a salutary one. It can help us to create a new and sound basis for dealing with countries from Asia to Africa to Latin America.

At this time, therefore, we are necessarily facing questions and doubts about past and present policies towards these countries. It is a spirited debate that includes people from all parts of the political spectrum in the United States. In the process, a number of people who long supported the traditional premises of U.S. policy in the developing world have joined the ranks of more traditional skeptics about either the purposes or the efficacy of our efforts in development assistance, and the activities of the American government and corporations abroad. At the same time, new doubts are being expressed in some developing countries themselves about the nature of relations with the United States, and particularly with its international corporations.

For some development professionals and other people with an interest in the developing world, this has been a disquieting phenomenon. But those people who continue to support wholeheartedly a major U.S. effort on behalf of developing countries, or who depend upon good relations with developing states, would ignore this phenomenon at their peril. Instead, it is important for them--for all of us--to understand new concerns being raised about the U.S. role in the developing world, and to respond to criticism--legitimate or misguided--of past and present efforts.

Because of the importance of this debate and the growing number of people engaged in it, we at the Overseas Development Council believe that we should promote the widest possible discussion of the points at issue. Indeed, if we did not, we would only be contributing to a climate of opinion that is increasingly uncertain about the nature of U.S. relations with developing countries.

For this reason, we invited Mr. Richard Barnet, Co-Director of the Institute for Policy Studies, to prepare an analysis of U.S. involvement in the developing world from his critical perspective. We then convened a seminar based on this paper, in order to stimulate a thorough discussion of ideas that are having increasing impact. Without endorsing these views, or his statement of the facts, we at the ODC felt it incumbent upon us to see that they were discussed.

For the seminar, we asked Mr. Jerome Jacobson, Vice President, Robert R. Nathan Associates, Inc., and Professor Stephen Hymer, New School for Social Research, to prepare comments on the paper by Mr. Barnet. These comments, as revised after the seminar, are included here. Finally, Mr. Robert Hunter of our staff prepared a commentary on the paper, and added some ideas of his own on the debate taking place generally.

We hope that this set of documents, taken together, will provide some insight into some of the many questions being raised about the U.S. role in the developing world. In this way, we hope to give a broader audience of people interested in this subject a chance to take part with us in this continuing debate.

The debate will not end here. In fact, it will likely continue for some time, and include a host of competing views. From time to time, we will present other issues, and try to stimulate discussion that will help the United States better to pursue an enlightened foreign policy for the 1970's. We at the ODC are seeking to be a forum where people of many different points of view will come together to engage in debate. Everyone, we believe, will benefit. Readers' comments are therefore most welcome, as well as suggestions for further discussions of this nature.

James P. Grant
President-Overseas Development Council

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CAN THE UNITED STATES PROMOTE FOREIGN DEVELOPMENT?

Richard J. Barnet

The Decade of Development begun by the Kennedy Administration in a burst of characteristic eloquence has ended with the gap between rich nations and poor wider than ever. Future prospects are even bleaker. The poor countries face sharply rising unemployment in the 1970's.[1] Their share of world trade is declining, from 30% in 1950 to less than 18% today.[2] Within what is officially called "the developing world" and which I shall, in the interests of accuracy, call the "undeveloping world," the gap between rich and poor is also widening. As Gunnar Myrdal has noted in his massive study, Asian Drama, the trend of the 1960's was toward increasing concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the few. Against a background of chatter about reform, a succession of corrupt and militarist regimes have come to power in many countries in the undeveloping world.

A decade of euphoria about economic "take-offs," "Green Revolutions," and other technical solutions has given way to a growing realization that the problems of development are not only far deeper than previously thought but are of a fundamentally different order. Some of the growing disenchantment with so-called "give away" programs stems from a new sophistication about the relationship between foreign development and the U.S. national interest. As Ambassador Edward M. Korry put it in his report of March 1970, as quoted in the New York Times, the "magnitude of U.S. aid effort was largely justified on national interest grounds, with the annual level determined less by abstract development goals than by the level of additional resources thought necessary to establish a military establishment adequate to assure national independence under the U.S. nuclear umbrella."[3] Substantially over 50% of U.S. aid to the undeveloping world has been military and para-military assistance, most of it concentrated in a few countries on the periphery of the Soviet Union and China.[4] Since the late 1950's when the focus of the aid program shifted from Europe to the poor countries, the standard appeal for aid funds has been based on considerations of U.S. national security.

The "developing countries" were, as officials of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations used to say, the great battlefield of the Cold War. If the poor countries could not solve their domestic economic and social problems, they would be vulnerable to communism. The Soviet Union or China would pick them up one by one. Non-military foreign aid has been sold to the Congress as an adjunct to military assistance. Not so many years ago, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara testified that the "foreign aid program generally has now become the most critical element of our national security effort." Because it is supposed to take the edge off the most extreme poverty and thus dampen revolutionary pressures, "the foreign aid program is the best weapon we have to insure that our men in uniform need not go into combat"[5] in future Vietnams.

It is now becoming clearer that these traditional national security reasons for promoting development have been oversold. The undeveloping world is not going to fall into Soviet or Chinese hands whether the people starve or not. The Soviet Union has its hands full supporting Cuba, the one Cold War plum it has acquired. For the Soviet Union, the cost of "taking over" clients outweighs the benefits in power and prestige. At most, the uneasy client relationship with Cuba provides the Soviets with a political needle to use on the United States, and they are well aware of its dangerous limitations.

As for the United States, its global system of client states is a net national security liability in strictly military terms. The bases in such countries are for the most part obsolete because of the development of long range weapons. Nor does the purchased loyalty of regimes which depend upon U.S. aid to maintain themselves in power enhance the prestige of the American people. True, the client relationship at times offers considerable economic advantages for American business. As a general rule, poor countries that are subservient to U.S. foreign policy are also hospitable to U.S. private investment and resource exploitation under favorable terms. But there is a high national security cost in maintaining clients not only because the billions that must be spent to build a global military force waste resources and create balance of payments problems, but also because the client relationship itself gives small states power over American policy. To the extent that the U.S. commits its prestige in another country--Vietnam is the supreme example--the government of that country has a hold on the United States by simply threatening to collapse.

Most U.S. aid to poor countries has been explicitly designed to serve counterinsurgency purposes. According to official American views on development, outside aid is needed to prevent mass unrest and internal violence which will lead to a much more dangerous and unpredictable world. As the Number One nation the U.S. is committed to preserving highly favorable global political and economic relationships and hence has a vested interest in order as an end in itself.

However, the counterinsurgency rationale for the U.S. commitment to development, on which before the Vietnam War there was a national consensus, is now under challenge. It is simply not true that a population reduced to near starvation levels is likely to overthrow its government, no matter how much the government deserves to be overthrown. The apathetic populations of traditional societies, unorganized, malnourished, illiterate, are generally not revolutionary. The most unsettling political force in the undeveloping world is not poverty but anti-colonialism and nationalism. Thus the military interventions of Great Powers in behalf of repressive local regimes build revolutionary movements even as they are destroying them. The insurgency in Cambodia grew dramatically after the U.S. invasion. It should have come as no surprise that a peasant population finds it a radicalizing experience to be bombed day after day or to have its crops destroyed by a foreign power at the request of its own leaders. The U.S. aid program builds revolutionary consciousness in poor countries because it provides local politicians, even the non-revolutionary ones, with the easy target of "neo-imperialism." Aid reformers are beginning to talk about "lowering the U.S. profile," but the Nixon Doctrine, which aims at keeping American boys out of future Asian wars, necessarily depends upon a high level of military aid in the form of outright grants or credit purchases.

As some of the Senators who question the aid program argue, military assistance is not a substitute for direct U.S. military intervention but a stimulus to such intervention. When aid bureaucrats are sent abroad on a counter-insurgency mission, they raise the issue of U.S. "credibility." If they face spectacular failure, as in Vietnam, powerful political pressures mount to back up their efforts with troops and bombs. Thus military assistance and counterinsurgency programs which are supposed to increase foreign military flexibility and "maximize national security options," in fact have the political effect of tying American hands. The growing awareness of these factors has contributed to the breakdown of the always fragile aid consensus.

II.

Those who are interested in rescuing the aid program have concentrated on criticizing techniques rather than goals. The Peterson Report, for example, recommends that poor countries be permitted to borrow on more favorable terms, that the distribution of aid become more multilateral, that private investment be increased, that more emphasis be put on education, research, and technological innovations in agriculture, and that population growth be controlled.

The proposed reforms in aid policy discussed in the recent flurry of reports are designed to serve admirable purposes. Anyone interested in the fate of the poor countries can only applaud efforts to reduce their debt load or to increase crop yields. Reduction of military assistance, if and only if, it is not accompanied by increased arms purchases, is a step in the right direction. In the right political environment population planning may well make sense. All such reforms turn out to be corrections of techniques misused in the past, such as debt and military assistance, or proposal for greater use of new techniques such as birth control and high technology agriculture. These approaches to development start from two basic premises. The first is that development is primarily a technical problem and that the political environment needed in poor countries for economic progress can be largely shaped by technology. The second is that there is a substantial identity of interests between the United States and the undeveloping world, in short, that when American politicians and bureaucrats, on the one hand, and those concerned with mass misery in poor Asian, African, and Latin American countries on the other, talk about "development," they mean the same thing.

In his Challenge of World Poverty, which is based on detailed study of South Asia, Gunnar Myrdal effectively demonstrates the weakness of these two premises. The problems of development, he points out, are fundamentally political, having to do with the distribution of power in poor countries. The concentration of wealth in most poor countries is increasing instead of declining and the selective introduction of high technology appears to have accelerated that process. At the same time, it has become clearer that the interests of rich and poor countries in matters of trade, investment, the development of strategic raw materials, and the like are fundamentally adverse. Americans have a model of economic development that suits U.S. economic and political interests but, as will be discussed below, these interests are in direct conflict with those of the still silent majority in the undeveloping world.

Thus the question "Can the United States promote foreign development?" is impossible to answer without raising more basic questions: What do the architects of the national interest mean by development? Is their concept compatible with the objective needs of the undeveloping world? Is it in the interests of the United States, as perceived by the managers of its foreign policy, to promote true development?

It is only when we have some answers to these questions that it becomes possible to decide how, or even whether, the United States can play a constructive role in foreign development. Since there are deep political reasons why the U.S. is not "sacrificing" to help the poor countries and will not do so, then, regrettably, it is naively optimistic to suggest, as Myrdal and others have done, that we can have a different kind of development policy by "appealing to peoples' moral feelings." A nation that can remain morally indifferent to the poverty of fellow citizens in Harlem, Appalachia, Missis-sipi, or indeed of its own parents in squalid "retirement communities" and "rest homes" cannot generate much compassion for hungry campesinos in Brazil.

There have been many motivations behind the U.S. aid program. Each participating institution has slightly different reasons for promoting the American foreign development policy. Some Americans make money from it directly. As former AID Director William Gaud recently explained it, "ninety-three percent of AID funds are spent directly in the United States... Just last year some 4000 American firms in 50 States received $1.3 billion in Aid funds for products supplied as part of the foreign aid program."[6] George D. Woods, the former President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development summarized other motivations by observing that "bilateral programs of assistance have had as one of their primary objectives helping the high-income countries themselves; they have looked toward financing export sales, toward tactical support of diplomacy, toward holding military positions thought to be strategic."[7] It is a truism that national self-interest, as perceived by those in charge of defining and promoting it, is the primary drive behind U.S. development policy, as indeed behind every other foreign policy. The point needs elaboration only because these issues are so often obscured with the hypocritical and totally inappropriate rhetoric of charity. Despite the fact that modern nations spend considerable amounts of money advertising their virtue, they are not philanthropies.

Individuals who work in the development area may indeed have idealistic, even altruistic motives. Many more are principally motivated by the intellectual and political challenge of social engineering in a foreign land. Minor officials find it exhilarating to write plans and shape projects for sovereign nations, however small or poor, especially when there is little personal responsibility for failure. There are a few individual aid projects sponsored by the U.S. government which reflect the seriousness and idealism of the individuals who designed them. But there is little room in government programs for the expression of the personal motivations of bureaucrats if these personal views or feelings are inconsistent with the overarching purposes of the state. Foreign aid has been principally an instrument of self-serving national security strategy and foreign economic policy and has been sold each year to Congress in exactly such terms. The constellation of policies in the area of aid, trade, and investment which constitute the U.S. official approach to development are designed to serve two overriding policy goals. The first is to create conditions of stability in the undeveloping world and the second is to preserve the dependent relationships between poor and rich countries which are so clearly to the advantage of the developed world.

III.

Let us look first at the goal of stability. The purpose of the U.S. Aid program, according to the FY 1968 summary presentation to Congress, is "to help other countries to develop self-sustaining economies and thus strengthen their ability to remain free." The undeveloped countries, John J. McCloy wrote in 1960, promise to be "the principal battleground in which the forces of freedom and communism compete--a battleground in which the future shape of society may finally be tested and determined."[8] To be designated part of the "forces of freedom" it is necessary for the government of a poor country merely to demonstrate that it is not communist and wishes to remain non-communist. Enough is known about the brutal government in Saigon, the authoritarian regime in Taipei, and the other principal beneficiaries of U.S. aid to recognize that the "free world" is an honorary association in which freedom is not a requirement of membership. The United States has actively assisted military regimes in Greece and Brazil which are known to practice torture and terrorism against their own populations as a matter of policy. To be "free" means to be non-communist, generally supportive of American policy, and hospitable to American investment. A "stable" regime is one which continues to protect this special sort of freedom. American officials have few illusions about the character of the regimes they support. The support is offered on the grounds that no better alternatives exist and that non-support would lead to revolutionary violence. In the Kennedy Administration, particularly, there was an effort to back more attractive leaders in client states. But the lesson of the early sixties--in the Dominican Republic and Brazil, for example--was that reformist regimes were uncontrollable. They set revolutionary political and social forces in motion that could not be safely channeled.

Under the prevailing American theory of development a stable, non-revolutionary social structure is a precondition for economic progress. There are a variety of strategic and economic reasons to support this view. First, it has been assumed that a revolutionary regime will automatically be pro-Soviet or pro-Chinese and that its mere existence will strengthen the Communist world at the expense of the U.S. Second, a successful display of revolutionary violence in one country will encourage revolutionary groups in other countries to stage similar efforts. Indeed, as the Nixon Administration made clear in a recent "backgrounder" on the accession of President Allende in Chile, even the establishment of a constitutionally elected government with a moderate revolutionary ideology is seen as a threat to U.S. interests. The "domino" theory, in one form or another, has been central to U.S. thinking on development. Third, a revolutionary regime is likely to nationalize U.S. investments and to resist the efforts of U.S. corporations to penetrate the local market except under strictly controlled conditions which are seen as disadvantageous. Fourth, a revolutionary, nationalistic regime is likely to take an independent course in foreign policy and to be hostile to private American investment and market exploitation (although receptive to American trade, under the right conditions). Fifth, it is in the interests both of government and corporate planners to reduce uncertainities and unknown risks. There is a general bureaucratic bias in favor of living with the injustices of today in preference to the risks of tomorrow. Finally, "stable" governments, by definition are dependent on United States government programs and private corporate activities to a degree revolutionary regimes strenuously seek to avoid. Freedom from foreign economic and political control is a crucial revolutionary goal.

Stability, according to the official American ideology, does not mean standing still. Stability is orderly, controlled growth. It can be accomplished in poor countries with the same techniques and the same political myths with which it was achieved in the United States. The great need of developing countries is capital and foreign exchange. Poor countries can raise it through government debt and private foreign investment just as the United States did. The economy can grow efficiently only if a country develops a strong technocratic infrastructure to service it. The goal of any "developed" society is, to use W.W. Rostow's term, "high mass consumption." The best way to achieve the "take-off" that can bring a modest version of the affluent society to poor nations is through technological innovation and the education of an entrepreneurial class that can supply the energy for change. This means supporting a rising entrepreneurial class where it exists, or relying on the army where it does not. Private enterprise is the system that best stimulates entrepreneurship. Therefore, socialism and government planning of the economy should, wherever possible, be discouraged. Reforms should be administered from the top to prevent revolutionary violence from bubbling up from the bottom. It is strongly in the interests of the poor countries themselves to avoid revolutionary socialism because it brings not only violence and authoritarian government but inefficient management. According to American ideology, it is a fundamental trait of human nature that men will work to enrich the society only when they are enriching themselves. If they do not have the incentive of personal enrichment, then they must be coerced into becoming producers. Thus free enterprise and freedom are inextricably linked. (The fact that most people in the undeveloping world have no such incentive because they own nothing is not allowed to complicate the theory.)

It would be unfair to attack the official American ideology on development merely because each tenet of the faith serves U.S. interests by providing a rationale for private U.S. investment, bureaucratic control by U.S. government agencies, and the celebration of the American Way of Life. It was of course always theoretically possible that the American Dream packaged for export was exactly what poor countries needed and that the salesmen of the Dream were the real agents of progress. Unfortunately, however, now that a good deal of experience has been analyzed, it is clear that the rich and poor are not going to get rich together, or in many cases, even survive together. There are deep conflicts of interest--between the United States and poor countries and, more especially, between classes within poor countries, which the American theory of development does not confront.

Inequality in poor countries has not only political and social consequences but economic ones. "Greater equality in underdeveloped countries," writes Gunnar Myrdal, "is almost a condition for more rapid growth."[9] Surveying the trend in Asia toward increasing disparities in income and political power between the rich and poor, the Secretariat of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East has made the following analysis:

> To judge from actual experience, large and growing income disparities have not proved conducive to brisk economic performance and a strong thrust of development. It seems more likely, in fact, that heavy income concentration has often impeded healthy economic expansion by acting as a powerful disincentive (both material and psychological) to public participation in development. It cannot be overlooked that the prevailing laissez-faire attitude towards distributional aspects of development policy lends convenient support to maintenance of the political and social status quo in Asian Countries.[10]

The governments of poor countries invariably give lip service to the revolutionary ideal of equality. Indeed, the reactionary government of South Vietnam has a "revolutionary development" program. Hypocrisy is the compliment vice pays to virtue. It is a cliche accepted by some of the world's most entrenched oligarchies that the problem of underdevelopment can be solved only by institutional change of a revolutionary character.

The reason why even reactionary governments must pay lip service to the need for revolutionary change is obvious. The fundamental problems of underdevelopment are psychological and political. Only secondarily are they economic and technological. The lack of productivity and commitment characteristic of undeveloping societies is due to the fact that most people in poor countries who lack both food and hope see no reason to exert themselves. As the Brazilian Bishop, Dom Antonio Batista Fragoso put it:

> We do not need paternalistic redemption. We need conditions so that those who are now abandoned may free themselves from their own underdevelopment with their own united force...The poor have no hope in those who still have economic power. And the poor are those who struggle for justice. If those who fight for justice are called subversive, then subversion is their hope.[11]

People will not make the social investment needed to build a society if all they can see ahead is bare subsistence and economic servitude. Human beings cannot be mobilized to work to enrich others beyond a certain point. Not only do they need a personal economic stake but some sense of personal dignity. According to the American rhetoric, freedom is the precondition for economic, social, and political development because society depends upon the individual and freedom is essential to personal development. The validity of this American rhetoric which mocks America's development policy has been borne out by experience in the undeveloping world. A sense of community based on some elementary belief in the justice of the social order is essential to development. Professor Harry G. Johnson suggests that nationalism "may well be the only force capable of mobilizing a society for economic development."[12] In most countries of the undeveloping world a radical redistribution of political and economic power is a precondition for building a nation or any community to which people will give their best efforts and in which they will discover their own true capacities.

The military dictators, oligarchies, and large landholders who run most poor countries of course have no incentive to make such a revolution, peaceful or otherwise. They are interested in preserving their privileges, including the use of the public treasury, escape from taxation, and the pleasures associated with rank and power. Few governments have undertaken programs of serious land reform or redistribution of wealth without a social and political revolution which expropriated the property of the former ruling class. The governments which have been principally aided by the United States have shown little initiative in reforming traditional inequalities in wealth and power. Indeed, the effect of U.S. aid in many cases has been to rescue local governments from making unwelcome choices. Where the United States offers more effective instruments of repression and patronage such as modern military equipment, a government worried about revolution will prefer to base its rule on intimidation and bribery rather than on accommodation and structural reform. It is always dangerous for a weak government to make real reforms because the political energies thereby stimulated cannot always be controlled. Demands escalate. Expectations rise. Real politics begins to extend beyond the palace and the police station. If you are a political leader of a poor country and your political constituency is a few land holding families or army officers it is not worth the risks to make concessions to the poor as long as you believe that you have the choice. The United States provides that choice by lending beleaguered, reactionary governments weapons, money, and prestige. In many cases, the very survival of the government depends upon U.S. support.

IV.

Reform plays an important role in the American vision of development. From China in World War II to Greece in 1947 to Vietnam today, American officials have urged a variety of reforms on client states. State Department files bulge with stern warnings, pleas, and hints of bribes designed to induce an assortment of kings, shahs, presidents, generals, and dictators to reform. The record is dismal for obvious reasons. First, as we have said, in many cases the government does not dare to reform because to do so would alienate its constituency, a narrow privileged class, and it would fail. Second, the greater interest the United States demonstrates in the country, the greater the likelihood of continued American commitment whether or not there is reform. I know of no case where American aid was withdrawn because of a failure to make liberalizing reforms in the distribution of economic and political power. Indeed, the historical evidence strongly suggests that the U.S. will back repressive regimes, such as the current regimes in Brazil and Greece, however brutal their administration, if they are deemed to be of strategic importance to the United States and seem capable of governing the country. The U.S. withdrew support from Trujillo only when he appeared to be vulnerable to a coup and acceptable alternatives appeared on the scene.

The modest aid program was withdrawn from Duvalier's repulsive regime in Haiti for public relations reasons. There was no hope in Washington of forcing "Papa Doc" to reform. The issue of reform has been treated as a cosmetic issue. At times although much less so in recent years the United States has been mildly embarrassed by appearing to embrace governments run by thugs. When he announced the Doctrine that bears his name, Harry Truman apologized for the Greek government. The modern realists like Thomas Mann and Nelson Rockefeller warn against making invidious comments about militarist regimes and suggest that the U.S. work with any established government (as long as it is not revolutionary). The discussion about whether America can or should remain ideologically pure misses the point. There can be no development without reform.

Despite the objective requirements in the undeveloping world for a radical redistribution of political and economic power, there is very little in a positive way that outside powers can do about it. As the Soviet Union found out many years ago, a nation cannot expect to foment revolutions in other sovereign nations and be accepted as a legitimate member of the international state system. However strong the ideological commitment to revolution may be in a revolutionary state, the requirements of survival and coexistence come first. Even if the United States were a revolutionary state and were committed to a revolutionary vision of development, which, emphatically, it is not, there is very little it could do directly to promote it. In a system of sovereign states, governments must work with governments. Even multilateral agencies such as the World Bank must get governmental approval before they operate within a country's borders. It is possible to subvert governments by military and para-military means, and the United States engaged in this activity extensively in the Dulles era.[13] But a foreign government cannot revolutionize another society. Except where Americans had occupation powers, as in Japan, all U.S. efforts to change the political and economic structures of another society have had to be mediated through local politicians, businessmen, and landowners who have every incentive to obstruct the effort.

As this basic political fact of life has become evident, Americans have tried to solve the development problem by technology. The U.S. has lost faith in its ability to bring about the political reforms in the undeveloping world needed to support modernizing capitalist economies, and now judges its success in promoting development by increasing economic growth. If the pie cannot be cut differently, at least it can be bigger. Although economic inequality is increasing, development efforts can at least raise the value of the 5-12% of the total national wealth that is in the hands of the very poor, primarily through efficient food production and population control.

According to the American model, a social system stable enough to absorb technology from developed countries will grow at a steady rate and the benefits of such growth will trickle down to the lowest strata of society. The problem, as Gunnar Myrdal has observed, is that "attempts to improve technology in agriculture and to raise yields will never have great results" without land reform which creates "a relationship between man and land that does not thwart his incentives to work and to invest."[14] In other words, technology superimposed on the existing social structure may reduce revolutionary pressures by alleviating starvation but it will not solve the problem of poverty.

Because governmental opposition to land reform in the undeveloping world is so deep it is tempting for American development experts to promote the undeniably impressive achievement of the Green Revolution as an alternative. Most land reform programs in the Third World have been a sham. The U.S. has little leverage to make them work anywhere the local ruling establishment is committed against them and has often been reluctant to use what leverage it has for their purposes. The effect of the new emphasis on technological instead of political reform is in many cases to reduce pressures for land redistribution which in the absence of revolution will come about only when local ruling establishments are convinced that there is absolutely no alternative. In some cases, on the other hand, the new technology by further dramatizing the gap between the landowners and the landless seems to have radicalized the peasants, resulting, as in Eastern India, in forcible expropriation by the landless. The introduction of expensive technology, irrigation systems, high-priced seeds, fertilizers and the like, raises the capital investment in agriculture and, therefore, limits rather than increases the possibilities for independent poor farmers. Millions of poor sharecroppers do not have the money to engage in high technology agriculture and must continue to work for someone else who does, or be displaced by a machine. Thus without accompanying political reforms the new emphasis on technology in agriculture does not solve the present plight of landless peasants or those with very small plots. Indeed, it has the effect of creating more sharecroppers and driving still more tillers off the land into the hopeless urban armies of the unemployed. "Stability" is an antidevelopment goal in countries where the established institutions perpetuate poverty and the ruling elites show no serious commitment to change.

V.

The second goal of U.S. development policy is to preserve and expand America's global political economic position by preserving and expanding various forms of dependent relationships between poor countries and the United States. Although in many cases it may not be an articulated goal, the promotion of dependency is inherent in virtually every U.S. policy in the areas of trade, aid, and foreign investment.

The role of military assistance and para-military "support costs" in creating dependency is obvious. Military equipment and advisory missions are primarily designed to finance armies manning positions deemed "strategic" by the United States or to protect the host government from "internal violence," i.e. revolutionary insurgencies. In many parts of the undeveloping world the government depends to a critical degree on their military establishments to maintain themselves in power. The foreign power that supplies and finances the army and police soon has enormous leverage over such governments. The new trend towards substituting arms sales for outright grants does not significantly lessen their degree of dependence, for nations which have built their armies with U.S. equipment have nowhere else to turn for supplying and modernizing their forces. Indeed, to the extent such transactions are financed by the U.S. government or private U.S. banks, the dependency relationship is strengthened.

Despite the rhetorical emphasis on "self-help," non-military aid is also administered in such a way as to increase dependency. The United States made its political conception of aid clear when it abruptly stopped UNRRA at the end of the war and refused to support the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development in the 1950's. The U.S. has been opposed to multilateral aid which could go to politically independent or adversary governments. The U.S. Congress has not been willing to support an aid program that would benefit governments that oppose U.S. foreign policy except, as in the case of Yugoslavia, for example, where there have been special strategic reasons for doing so. Various restrictions on aid assure a high degree of control by the United States. Under the Hickenlooper Amendment a recipient country risks the loss of aid if it pursues a nationalization policy considered unjustified by the United States.[15] The flow of aid varies directly with the attitude of the recipient government. Governments such as those of Goulart in Brazil or Bosch in the Dominican Republic which pursued nationalistic economic policies or sought a degree of political independence received relatively little aid. When they were overthrown and replaced by governments openly sympathetic to the United States and U.S. private investment, the level of aid dramatically increased. Recently the Export-Import Bank downgraded Chile to a "Category D" risk obviously because a Marxist and economic nationalist had taken over the government.

The way aid is administered has the effect of preserving and expanding dependent relationships. The P.L. 480 program, for example, is designed in such a way as to serve a variety of domestic U.S. interests. In the process it increases the dependency of the recipient governments. The Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, as the program was originally called, was intended, according to its subtitle "to increase the consumption of United States agricultural commodities in other countries, to improve the foreign relations of the United States, and for other purposes."[16] The original purpose was to dispose of the giant U.S. agricultural surplus. (According to the Peterson report, "more than half the budgetary cost (of the program) would be required in any event to support farm incomes in the United States."[17])

It is hardly surprising that a unilateral U.S. program which is shaped by U.S. domestic political pressures and passed by the U.S. Congress should be self-serving. But the program does more than take advantage of existing dependent relationships. It seeks to create new ones. "Expansion of dollar sales," according to the 1970 report on P.L. 480 programs, "owes much to aggressive world-wide development efforts initiated under P.L. 480."[18]

There are many other ways in which aid creates dependent relationships. Various provisions of U.S. law require that aid shipments be carried in U.S. bottoms, that purchases be made in the U.S., that only U.S. branch banks be used for financing. In 1961, for example, about 39% of the total receipts from foreigners on all ocean freight shipped under U.S. flag derived from the transport of U.S. aid commodities.[19] Because of such provisions the Peterson

Report estimates that U.S. aid costs recipients about 15% more than world market prices.[20]

In a recent monograph Charles R. Frank, Jr. has studied the mounting debt burden of poor countries and notes that it is putting "great stress on the less developed economies."[21] The Peterson Report acknowledges that mounting debt which must be continually refinanced on an emergency basis keeps poor countries on a "short leash," and proposes relief but only if a country can demonstrate a "coherent development program of appropriate fiscal and financial policies."[22] But, as we shall see, the American prescription of "appropriate" economic policies for poor countries is of clear benefit to the U.S. and other developed countries and of much less obvious benefit to the poor countries themselves.

Gunnar Myrdal has observed that "the commercial policies of the developed countries are almost systematically rigged against the effort of underdeveloped countries to rise out of underdevelopment."[23] Various provisions of U.S. law and economic policy discourage the accumulation of local capital in poor countries. The U.S. market is barred to many products of poor countries because of high tariffs and quotas. At the same time, the U.S. has opposed efforts by poor countries to use protectionist measures to build up their own "infant industries" and to save foreign exchange. The U.S. has been largely unsympathetic to commodity agreements or compensatory financing such as the prefinancing of buffer stocks. Harry Johnson has written that such U.S. policies as "price supports, restriction of market access, subsidized export of agricultural surplus, and heavy taxation of imports...are directly harmful in various ways to the competing exports of less developed countries."[24] At the 1964 UNCTAD Conference, the U.S. voted "no" to virtually every proposal of poor countries to improve their relative economic position vis-à-vis the rich nations. In the intervening years the U.S. has moderated its rhetoric somewhat but it has taken no significant action to reform the conduct of international trade to benefit poor countries.

VI.

It is not surprising that the United States insists on pressing its short term economic and political advantages in its dealings with the undeveloping world. The dependency of poor nations on the rich arises out of special historical circumstances that have divided the world into two zones--one characterized by colonialism and backwardness and the other by technological dynamism. The United States and other developed nations played a major role in creating, maintaining, and profiting from that division. Because the disparity in economic power between the rich and the poor is so great the normal operation of the market has the effect of widening the gap. Liberal theories of economics and politics which rest on notions of "equal access" and "equal opportunity" produce reasonable equality only when the competitors for power and economic gain start without serious disadvantages. But the United States has such an enormous advantage in its economic relations with poor countries that what would be reasonably equitable commercial practices and policies in other circumstances here perpetuate preexisting conditions of backwardness.

At UNCTAD and elsewhere the poor countries have asked for special agreements by the rich nations which would modify these market processes under which the rich get richer and the poor are left further behind. They have requested modest structural changes in the world economy designed to shift somewhat the present balance of power and to enable the poor countries to be more independent. The United States opposes a redistribution of economic and political power for the reasons the rich normally oppose it. Why should the United States voluntarily give up the power to use aid and trade policies to solve its balance of payments, agricultural surplus, raw materials and consumer export problems? To do so would require Americans to solve these problems in other ways involving domestic political and economic dislocations. The Administration and the Congress are under strong and continuing pressure from a variety of powerful special political interests to grant concessions to American citizens at the expense of poor countries which have neither lobbies nor votes. Why should the United States encourage exports from poor countries which will put American factories out of business, laborers out of work, and raise prices even more at the supermarket? Why shouldn't the United States continue to use its political leverage to preserve economic advantages?

The classic motives which might prompt the U.S. to make such concessions are fear and guilt. In recent years, however, Americans have become more sophisticated and less alarmist about the short term threat that poverty in the undeveloping world poses to the United States. There will be violence whatever the U.S. does and the danger of Soviet takeover is small.

A nation devoted to the ideology of free enterprise and the myths of rugged individualism and the survival of the fittest is also well equipped to handle its guilt feelings about being an "island of prosperity in a sea of misery," to quote the inevitable banquet cliche at development conferences. Americans have not lost sleep from watching thousands of Biafrans and Pakistanis starve on television. Some American officials show signs of personal concern from time to time but most have developed an ideology which conveniently protects their own conscience along with the international status quo. Under this ideology dependency is renamed "integration" and becomes a tenet of a comfortable faith that the present international division of labor will miraculously benefit rich and poor alike.

VII.

However, it is in the area of private investment that the patterns of dependency work most clearly. It is in this area also where the real conflicts of interest between the U.S. desire for "integration" and poor countries' desire for independence are most dramatic.

Private investment in poor countries has played a crucial role in perpetuating the dependency of the undeveloping world. That private investment works to the ultimate disadvantage of poor countries is a consequence of the poorer relationships between dynamic corporations and weak national economies. As Herbert Salzman, Assistant administrator for Private Resources, AID, has noted:

> Alongside this picture of rapidly-growing, diversified, international giant companies who have access to the world market, we must now place the picture of emergent, sometimes newly-independent, national states. If we rank together gross national product of nation states and gross annual sales of the large corporations, 13 of the largest are private companies. Of the 100 largest, half are private companies, and two-thirds of the private companies are American.
>
> Nigeria is 39th after General Motors, Ford, Jersey Standard, Royal Dutch Shell, General Electric, Chrysler, Unilever, Mobil Oil--
>
> Algeria is 61st after Western Electric and Bethlehem Steel--
>
> Morocco is 64th after International Harvester and Westinghouse--
>
> Ghana is 78th after National Dairy and Union Carbide--and there are no other African countries in the first 100.[25]

These figures provide a clue as to why poor countries demonstrate "nationalist sensitivities to foreign investment," to use the words of the Peterson Report. Noting that the issue of development is "one of efficiency, not ideology," the aid reformers are pressing for more private investment, not less, and more direct government support for private investment. A substantial part of the "development loan" funds for India in fiscal year 1970, for example, went to finance foreign owned fertilizer plants.[26] But the widely acknowledged hostility of poor countries to foreign investment is not based on irrational "sensitivities" but on a recognition their interests in development and the interests of international corporations in profits and economic stability are often adverse.

The classic cases of corporate exploitation have involved extractive industries. National resources are removed from the country. The host country has little control over price or the use of the resources. Profits are repatriated to the foreign corporation. While in recent years companies have perceived it to be in their interest to improve working conditions and services for their employees it is clear that they are responsive to the needs of the corporation, not the development needs of the country. The interests of the corporate management and shareholders are not necessarily those of the people of the host country. In the worst cases this sort of investment is indistinguishable from theft. Fortunately, because of political pressures and "nationalist sensitivities" these cases are becoming rarer. In the best cases the international corporation holds a commanding position in the economy which monopolizes local talent, stifles local competing initiatives, and interferes with local efforts to manage the economy. This is true no matter how benevolent an employment policy the corporate giant may seek to follow. In recent years, for example, rivalries between foreign based international corporations which dominate Caribbean banana production have helped to ruin small peasant growers by a huge expansion of production. Bookers Sugar Estates, Ltd. and the Demerara Co., which control nearly the entire production of Guyana, have taken the profits from Guyana sugar productions and invested them in sugar plantations in Nigeria. Thus not only are the profits not reinvested in the undeveloped economy, they are used to finance competition.[27]

In recent years the trend in private investment has been toward manufacturing, assembling, and processing industries. Here, too, there are serious conflicts of interest. International corporations compete for scarce local capital. As of 1957, for example, 74% of U.S. investments in Brazil were raised in Brazil.[28] Branch plants located in poor countries are designed to hop tariff walls and increase exports. In a survey of key international countries the National Industrial Conference Board concluded that "marketing strategy was clearly the dominant element in investment decisions" relating to the location of branch plants.[29] By dominating the local markets a foreign corporation can crowd out existing or potential locally owned competition, over which it has many advantages. At the same time it encourages poor countries with severe shortages of foreign exchange to import more. Branch plants have strong incentives to import from the parent company and thus discriminate against local suppliers. They also have little interest in producing for export where such exports compete with other branches of the international corporation. International corporations tend to keep the control of technology out of local hands through licensing agreements and by restricting research operations to the developed countries. Local assembly plants which are integrated into an international production system tend to be smaller and have more obsolete equipment than corresponding plants built in the developed countries. The complete dependence of local branches on foreign technology and management decisions creates little enclaves of higher development in largely backward societies. Those enclaves relate not to each other or to the local economy as a whole but to dominant external economic units.

Perhaps the most negative aspect of private investment for poor countries is its impact on taste and culture. The drive of the developed countries, particularly the U.S., to increase the flow of consumer products to the undeveloping world through branch plants and subsidized trade creates demands and diffuses tastes that are new to traditional societies. The notion that consumption is the key to happiness is a basic cultural value of developed societies. Consumerism is creating social and psychological problems in the United States, but its effects in poor countries are disastrous. Aggressive advertising and marketing in the undeveloping countries have created demands that cannot be satisfied. The "revolution of rising expectations" is a cruel hoax, for the products poor people are taught to want and hope for are usually beyond their reach and in most cases are exactly what they do not need. In a country without public transportation the marketing of a few cars is destructive. The need is basic transportation for all, not speed or comfort for a few. Tobacco, coca-cola, and other destructive or nutritionally useless products are being effectively marketed to poor people in the undeveloping world who subsist on less than 1500 calories a day. Thus multinational corporations with strong incentives to build global homogenized markets set the consumption patterns and spending priorities for millions of people to whom they have no responsibility and with whom they have no relationship except as suppliers of cheap labor and consumers.

Multinational corporations market what they already make, i.e. the products that have caught on in the developed world. The distribution of U.S. suburban consumer products reinforces class distinctions, creates destructive self-doubt among those who have grown up in traditional non-consumer-oriented cultures, and encourages the values of competitiveness and personal comfort when the social values so clearly needed in development are cooperation and community feeling.

Development, it cannot be said too often, is the awakening of awareness, literally, an unfolding. A society will develop only as the individuals in it develop their true potential and are prepared to give themselves to social effort to which they feel personally related and in which they have some rights to control their personal destinies. There is no evidence whatever that the Cadillac showroom a few yards from a rotting slum in the middle of Bangkok or a piece of high technology farm equipment or even an Academy Award winning Hollywood film stimulates that sort of consciousness. Indeed, as Erich Fromm and Michael Maccoby have shown in their study of a Mexican village,[30] the penetration of the "developed ideology of consumerism and waste into a traditional society destroys social cohesiveness, undermines personal psychological strength, and robs them of joy."

Finally, the economic integration of the undeveloping world introduces patterns of waste (along with patterns of pollution) which have long been tolerated in affluent societies but which bring literal starvation in societies with scarce resources. Ivan Illich has summarized the problem well:

> In most Third World countries, the population grows, and so does the middle class. Income, consumption, and the well-being of the middle class are all growing while the gap between this class and the mass of people widens. Even where per capita consumption is rising, the majority of men have less food now than in 1945, less actual care in sickness, less meaningful work, less protection. This is partly a consequence of polarized consumption and partly caused by the breakdown of traditional family and culture. More people suffer from hunger, pain, and exposure in 1969 than they did at the end of World War II, not only numerically, but also as a percentage of the world population.[31]

Neither U.S. corporations nor the U.S. government wish to keep poor countries poor. But, as the writer of "Guidelines for Global Business" candidly observed a few years ago in the *Columbia Journal of World Business*, the "utilization of resources to maximize profits" may not be "compatible" with the needs of the poor countries in which giant U.S. firms operate.[32] Similarly, the U.S. government has developed an ideology of the "needs" of the undeveloping world which serves U.S. interests but which is not based on a real understanding of their real requirements or the feelings of their people. American officials and corporate officers are powerful enough to elicit acquiescence from the civil servants and commercial partners with whom they deal, who, like the poor everywhere, are desperate for capital and assistance no matter how onerous the conditions. Thus Americans often make the mistake of thinking that there is something close to global acceptance of the present international division of labor. The multilateral agencies such as the World Bank are managed by technocrats recruited from the rich governments which dominate their boards. Though less tied to U.S. commercial interests and more responsive to the needs of poor countries, they will not depart significantly from the U.S. model of development. If the U.S. is interested in promoting real development, Americans will have to make some fundamental changes in the way they look at the outside world. Equally important, they will have to rethink what "development" means in the United States.

VIII.

A necessary, but revolutionary, change of attitude would be to recognize the modest role any nation, however powerful, can play in the process of development. U.S. development policy has been characterized by monumental *hubris*. Social engineering has failed and is bound to fail because the technocrats of the developed world, reflecting their own intellectual biases and economic interests, define and measure "development" in terms that have almost no relevance to the solution of the problem of mass misery. Under the social structures which now exist in most poor countries, the benefits of industrialization and high technology agriculture will never "trickle down" fast enough to keep pace with the galloping growth of the landless and unemployed underclass.

For the poor countries the goal is not achievement of the American standard of living that can support life and make life worth living. The widening gap between the rich and the poor is totally unacceptable, not so much because it reinforces inequalities which are to some extent inevitable, but because the rich cannot accumulate and consume at an ever faster rate without depriving the poor of a chance for life.

The best contribution the U.S. can make to the problem of world poverty is to abandon or revise many policies it is currently pursuing in the name of development that have the effect of perpetuating misery in the undeveloping world. It is much more exciting and far less "sacrificial" to conceive and fund imaginative "projects" than to change policies that preserve American wealth and power at the expense of poor countries. Any serious commitment to development by the United States, however, would begin by confronting instead of hiding the deep conflicts of interest between Americans, struggling to maintain and increase an unparalleled level of prosperity, and the people of the undeveloping world who are struggling for survival and dignity. We need to find out what it would cost the United States in comfort, convenience, and prosperity to change policies that keep poor countries poor. We need to figure out how to make such changes once we decide what they are. Despite the dogmatism on this subject from Marxists and commercial imperialists alike, both of whom sound remarkably similar in their pessimistic assertions that "everything" in the management of the economy would have to change if the U.S. abandoned imperialist policies, no one really knows and few have thought about the issues in such terms. Finally, we need to find out whether we are willing to pay the price. In short, a serious commitment to promote foreign development would begin with an analysis of the real impact of the United States on the undeveloping world and what it would mean in the United States to change that impact. The U.S. has posed as the doctor or medicine man for the undeveloping world. But the first maxim of a wise doctor is primum non nocere. Make sure your cure does no harm!

Poor countries are not in a good position to refuse any sort of aid, and thus they welcome tied loans and private investment whenever there is no alternative way of getting foreign exchange or of staving off bankruptcy. The U.S. now poses as alternatives a self-serving aid policy which, as we have seen, has harmful effects, or no development assistance. But the poor countries themselves are asking for economic and political concessions from the U.S. and other rich countries that would shift the international balance of power. Malmgren and Kimmins have put the problem well:

> The giant industrialized nations of the Northern Atlantic and Western Pacific areas dominate world trade and control imports and exports around the globe. Small countries, especially the poor countries, can only react to the decisions of others, in which they wield little influence. Demand for their exports depends almost entirely upon the rate of income growth in rich countries. When the giants sneeze a slight recession, the smaller nations--especially the poor nations-- catch economic pneumonia.[33]

The poor countries themselves correctly see their problems rooted in long existing patterns of economic and political domination. Aid and trade policies, they believe, reinforce those patterns. The American reaction to complaints from the undeveloping world about "neo-colonialism," which are less vocal and less widespread than they would otherwise be because of the very conditions of dependency the term implies, is to dismiss them as "communist propaganda" or a sign of "political immaturity." Pleas to respect national dignity, rights of self-determination, and economic self-sufficiency prompt American concern about the dangerous "nationalism," autarchy," and "sensitivies" of "LDC's" but little sympathy or understanding.

If the U.S. is interested in promoting development it must abandon its hostility to the idea of national self-sufficiency for poor countries. Preaching "internationalism" for others and "national interest" for itself is an effective technique for preserving American domination. But it inhibits development. The U.S. should accept the possibility that the demands which the poor countries so strongly emphasize, national independence, autonomy, and local control, have validity.

It is undoubtedly true that the nation-state is an obsolete political unit and that it will ultimately evolve into some other political form. But the former colonial world cannot integrate itself into a more rational world political system until it first gains that degree of autonomy which is necessary for human dignity and social creativity. In short, nationalism appears to be a necessary stage of development to protect the process of decolonization. The people of the undeveloping world must first form nations, i.e. communities in which priorities are set locally and the economy is run for the benefit of the people, not foreigners.

There are some unattractive features about the Castro and Mao revolutions, but they have built nations and in the process have abolished mass starvation, gross injustice in land tenure, and mass illiteracy. There is a correlation between these achievements and the spirit of militant independence which even Cuba, despite its substantial subsidies from the Soviet Union, continues to demonstrate.

If the U.S. were to make decolonization rather than dependency a prime development goal it would mean abandoning some of its economic and political power in favor of poor countries. Unless there is such a willingness, the rich countries will continue to take away with one hand the little they give with the other. Such a shift in U.S. policy could come about only as a result of revolutionary changes in the American concept of the national interest, to which we have alluded.

To bring about such fundamental shifts in attitudes and policy would require heroic political battles in the United States and major readjustments of the American economy. If, for example, it were decided to encourage instead of discourage shoe and textile industries in poor countries by abandoning protectionist policies, it would become necessary to have a conversion program for American businesses that could not compete. If the U.S. were to decide to promote genuine development it would have to promote a more rational and equitable world economy to which the U.S. economy would have to be adjusted. It would share power over the world economy to a much greater extent.

Whether any nation can voluntarily limit, indeed consciously abandon economic and political advantage, for the sake of its long term stake in global economic and social development has yet to be demonstrated. The historical precedents are not encouraging. Yet the contemporary situation is unique. The costs of maintaining present patterns of domination, particularly the costs of the necessary military establishments, are staggering, and the long term dangers associated with the present international system greatly outweigh the immediate benefits of present arrangements. But great nations are slow to perceive what Tocqueville called "self interest rightly understood."

IX.

If the United States were to make development a real priority despite its acknowledged costs there are many specific policies it should change which are incompatible with development. Whether such policy changes are politically feasible is a good barometer of the American commitment to development. If such changes are not feasible, the question, Can the United States Promote Foreign Development?, will have been answered.

1. ARMS BUILDUPS

The United States should discourage arms buildups in poor countries instead of promoting policies that now encourage such buildups. Military and para-military (police) aid to the so-called "forward defense" countries on the periphery of the Soviet Union and China should be phased out. The U.S. should encourage friendly relations of such countries with their neighbors, and adopt as a foreign policy priority the negotiation of a ban on arms shipments to the undeveloping world--with the Soviet Union and, eventually, China. The United States has been the leading weapons supplier to poor countries. It could be in the interest of both the Soviet Union and China and would be fully consistent with their ideology to support such an agreement. Conventional pessimism about negotiating an end to competitive military intervention in the undeveloping world is not warranted since no serious efforts in that direction have been made.

Arms continue to be shipped to the "forward defense" countries under the theory that their forces add to the combined strength of the "free world." They have no military value as far as the defense of the United States is concerned. The external military threat to such countries, no more than a theoretical possibility in the forseeable future, is far less than the threat of internal collapse from distorted economies and repressed, non-productive populations. Arms buildups waste enormous local resources. The costs of supporting a growing military infrastructure even when most of the equipment is supplied by the U.S. are huge. Moreover, military aid builds social classes and bureaucratic interests that have no incentive to promote genuine development. A militarist society which is unable even to make a pretense of seeking justice cannot develop because subjects who feel enslaved or intimidated are not free enough to invest themselves in the future. Militarist leaders often oppose the development process because they feel their own political survival depends on keeping things as they are.

There is even less validity to the counterinsurgency rationale for military aid. U.S. policies now keep in power many governments which, if concerned about development at all, are committed to superimposing an extremely narrow "developed" economy and social structure on top of a deteriorating traditional society. Such governments must rule by fear and the U.S. gives them the means to do it. It is likely to advance the development process whenever such governments fall.

The U.S. should abandon its present bias which holds that a repressive "capitalist" government is better than any insurgent or revolutionary government or better than the "chaos" that would follow the overthrow of the many regimes that now survive only with massive American aid. (If aid were withdrawn those regimes that were flexible enough to win popular support would survive. The rest would fall.) Disorder and revolution may be a necessary stage of development for many countries and the U.S. should learn to live with them. A repressive order which perpetuates conditions of acute misery is not clearly preferable. The U.S. does not need to "promote revolution" as a few enthusiastic rhetoricians among American political figures have suggested. Such a policy would be inconsistent with the requirements of international law and traditional diplomacy. What is needed is to stop supporting counterrevolution. Robert Heilbroner has correctly indicated that "our present policy prefers the absence of development to the chance for Communism--which is to say that we prefer hunger and want and the existing inadequate assaults against the causes of hunger and want to any regime that declares its hostility to capitalism."[34] Military assistance and supporting assistance designed to release local funds for military and police purposes are an investment in counterrevolution and an obstacle to development.

2. POLICY TOWARD REVOLUTIONARY REGIMES

If the U.S. were to make development a serious goal, it would support development efforts of revolutionary governments rather than harass them. Any government that can mobilize the populations of traditional societies to make the achievements in health, literacy, and food production and distribution that have been made in Cuba, North Vietnam, and China should be applauded, not blockaded, boycotted, or bombed. It is clear that no country or ideology has the answer to the problems of development. Certainly the American experience, with all its success, has limited relevance to primitive economies. If there is to be hope of survival, many competing ideas and models of development will have to be tried. What will work in one country or region may not work in another. The present bias in U.S. development policy in favor of private enterprise and against socialism foreclosed desperately needed possibilities and forces destructive choices on poor governments. The U.S. should encourage all development efforts and should not discriminate against revolutionary governments or socialist experiments. As long as the U.S. views the successes of revolutionary governments as foreign policy defeats, we will continue to be an enemy of development.

That the U.S. should take satisfaction from, and in some cases contribute to, crop failures in Cuba, Vietnam, or China is eloquent testimony of our real concern with the misery of underdevelopment. Here again the U.S. could make a great contribution to development by stopping destructive policies. It should no longer be the policy of the United States to complicate the life of revolutionary regimes through military harrassment and economic warfare. It should be noted that these policies directly encourage those repressive features of revolutionary regimes we say we find offensive. Since the allied intervention at the time of the bolshevik revolution, "capitalist encirclement" has been used by revolutionary regimes to justify harrassment of internal opposition and police repression. Blockades, overflights, and invasions do not encourage governments to deal more kindly with their own populations. A government under external attack will become increasingly repressive.

3. RESPECT FOR AUTONOMY

U.S. development policy should reflect the reality that decolonization, independence, and greater political and economic autonomy are preconditions of development. Thus the U.S. should try to shift power to poor countries so that they can maximize their own control of the development process. This means liberalizing terms of trade in favor of poor countries and abandoning discriminatory quotas and market manipulation through stockpiling and dumping.

The U.S. should abandon tie-in arrangements, in which poor countries are coerced into adopting policies or importing products they would not otherwise be disposed to accept. The U.S. "presence" in poor countries should be drastically reduced.

Private U.S. investment in poor countries should be discouraged except under strictly controlled conditions that promote rather than compromise the economic, political, and cultural autonomy of the host country. The U.S. government should abandon investment guarantees, indirect subsidies, and other policies which encourage U.S. investment in poor countries regardless of the relationship of the U.S. financed enterprise to the local economy or the usefulness of its product to local needs. "Nationalist sensitivities" to foreign "exploitation" should be respected and accommodated. U.S. law and policy should encourage U.S. citizens to invest in poor countries only under such circumstances as will keep foreign influence within reasonable limits. In general, foreign investors should be encouraged to supply technical and managerial services on a fee basis while control of marketing and production remains in the hands of the local government or local investors. The U.S. should abandon the ideology that foreign owned private investment builds poor economies and instead should seek to encourage 100% local ownership of productive facilities. National programs for the orderly takeover of key productive facilities, utilities, and mines now in the hands of foreigners should be encouraged, and where possible, assisted. In no event should they be opposed by diplomatic pressure or military action.

U.S. firms have systematically sought to create markets for inappropriate or harmful U.S. products in the undeveloping world, and the U.S. government has assisted the process with the aid program. Michael Hudson has recently calculated that 42% of U.S. aid is spent for "export promotion." There is little in a direct way the U.S. government could do to control the demand-generating activities of private U.S. citizens even if the government were to come to the conclusion that such activities are harmful to the development of poor countries. But it could stop subsidizing the activities and providing the ideological rationale for manipulating tastes and flooding poor countries with products that do not meet real needs.

More important, the U.S. government could develp a far more sophisticated policy with respect to the transfer of technology. It could recognize the obvious reality that most technology produced for developed societies is unsuitable for poor societies because it is wasteful of resources or is overengineered. In transportation the need is for low cost vehicles that are easily repaired and will last. The need is not speed or technological virtuosity. Simple pumps, community refrigeration units, and prefabricated health facilities that can be managed by paramedical workers are examples of the kind of technology needed by poor countries but which is not produced in the U.S. Instead of shaping the market to what we produce, the U.S. should be devoting some of its technological resources to production for the needs of poor countries. That will not happen as long as the U.S. government encourages U.S. firms to unload absurdly sophisticated equipment and irrelevant goods in poor countries. The U.S. should encourage the establishment under U.N. management of a world research facility specializing in the development of technology needed by poor countries and the political and financial arrangements under which they can have maximum control of their own technological development. The U.S. government should develop an export promotion policy that will encourage U.S. firms to design cheap , simple, productive implements that can help poor countries to develop self-sufficient economies. Only when poor countries can limit their dependence on foreign controlled technology will they achieve the autonomy needed for development.

4. CAPITAL TRANSFERS WITHOUT COMPENSATION

An analysis of the policy and practice of aid up to the present makes it clear that the element of gift has been small. In many cases the price in political and economic concesssions exacted for "grants" has more than absorbed the economic benefit of the "gift." It is worth noting that the "gift" element in U.S. Marshall Plan aid was substantially greater than in the foreign aid program for "LDC's." One reason was that the people of Western Europe were perceived by the architects of the aid program to be less "foreign" than the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The men of the Truman Administration believed that the Cold War was a fight for Western Civilization and that the blood kin of the settlers and early immigrants to white America were part of the civilization it was now America's responsibility to preserve and lead. "Internationalism" meant "Atlantic Community" and a United Europe (from the Azores to the Elbe). Another reason why the United States dealt somewhat more generously with the Marshall Plan countries than with the poor countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America was a belief that a recovered Europe, with all the dangers of commercial competition that might involve, was essential to American economic health. The U.S. and European economies were sufficiently interdependent, so it was thought, that a stagnant European economy would cause serious economic dislocation in the United States.

Neither reason is applicable to the undeveloping world. There are relatively few ties of blood or culture with the undeveloping world. Oriental immigration was cut off years ago. The identification of American blacks with Africa is recent and weak. Attitudes of cultural superiority over what not so long ago used to be described even in American scholarly books as "the lesser breeds" offer serious obstacles to generous, non-exploitative dealings with poor countries. Americans will not deal generously with the undeveloping world until they can identify much more closely with the poor people than they now do. Missionary zeal and reformist dogmatism, backed by a "scientific" theory of capitalist development even more useless than the dogma of "scientific" Marxism, effectively cut Americans off from the poor of the world. This intellectual and emotional isolationism is an obstacle to the achievement of a new sense of wider identity which is absolutely essential if Americans are to establish reasonably honest and generous human relationships with Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans.

A major contribution would be a program of debt cancellation, which is probably the only kind of real "gift" a national government can make in view of the prohibitive domestic political costs of altruism. An international agency with its own funds and funding sources managed by a board of directors representing the poor countries at least as heavily as the rich could act as a relatively disinterested international foundation. Such a foundation might in time be able to bypass obstructive governments and fund community projects at the local level and make loans in local currencies rather than in currencies which build up the export sector at the expense of the rest of the economy. Such an international agency might also carry out emergency relief operations in the event of famine or natural disasters such as the recent catastrophe in East Pakistan. But capital transfers which promote independence rather than the interests of the rich countries can be made only by a well capitalized international agency that is much more representative of the interests of the poor countries themselves than the present World Bank Group. The U.S. should make a large onetime capital transfer to such an agency and then go out of the aid business.

5. NEW DEFINITION OF DEVELOPMENT

The United States cannot afford to accept the minimal changes in the world economy needed to sustain hope in poor countries and to promote a less exploitative division of labor unless Americans begin to develop in new ways.

As long as 200,000,000 people continue to consume over 50% of the world's consumable resources they will not accept the reconstruction of the world economy needed to stop the spiral of underdevelopment. In short, Americans must define development for themselves to mean something other than indiscriminate, escalating consumption and growth before they can begin to undo the harm that the American Way of Life has done to the undeveloping world. Consumerism is an obstacle to national development, but like nationalism, it cannot be discouraged in the poor and weak if it is a way of life for the rich and strong.

If the U.S. were to solve its own development problem by eliminating the areas of poverty in its own society and by showing how an advanced society can use technology to enhance instead of destroy human dignity, it would thereby make the greatest single contribution to foreign development. The United States cannot accept foreign development until Americans feel themselves ready, economically and psychologically, to promote a new, more rational branch of development in the United States. Without a plausible vision of what the United States would become in a world that was really developing, Americans will continue to oppose many of the efforts of the undeveloping world to free itself from poverty.

NOTES

1. James P. Grant, Economic and Business Outlook for the Developing Countries in the 1970's, Overseas Development Council, Washington, D.C. 170, p. 11.

2. Harald B. Malmgren and Joe D. Kimmins, World Trade: Engine for Global Progress, Overseas Development Council, Washington, D.C., November 1970, p.1.

3. Quoted in the New York Times, March 8, 1970.

4. See Denis Goulet and Michael Hudson, The Myth of Aid, Center for the Study of Development and Social Change, Maryknoll, New York, pp.80-81.

5. Testimony of Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara on the Foreign Assistance Act of 1964, Ibid., p. 98.

6. Quoted in Gunnar Myrdal, The Challenge of World Poverty, Pantheon, 1970, p. 355.

7. Address by George D. Woods, President, World Bank Group, before the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, New Delhi, February 9, 1968, as quoted in Myrdal, p. 359.

8. Quoted in Richard J. Barnet, Intervention and Revolution, World Publishers, 1968, p. 27.

9. Myrdal, Op. cit., p. 54.

10. "Recent Social Trends and Developments in Asia," Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East, XIX, no. 1 (June, 1968), 58.

11. "The Gospel and Social Justice," speech delivered in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, January 22, 1968, quoted in Goulet and Hudson, Op. cit., p. 44.

12. Harry G. Johnson, Economic Policies Toward Less Developed Countries, Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1967, p. 67.

13. See Barnet, Op. cit., especially Chapter X.

14. Myrdal, Op. cit., p. 114. See also remarks of Kusum Nair, Development and Change in Traditional Agriculture: Focus on South Asia (mimeographed), East Lansing, Michigan, November 1968, p. 59.

15. In 1962, for example, the Hickenlooper Amendment was invoked against Honduras after the Government of Villeda Morales passed a land reform program which involved expropriation of United Fruit Company land. The cautious reaction of the Nixon Administration to expropriations undertaken by the Peruvian government suggests a possible moderation of U.S. policy.

16. Quoted in Goulet and Hudson, Op. cit., p. 85.

17. "U.S. Foreign Assistance in the 1970's: A New Approach," Washington, D.C., March 4, 1970 (Peterson Report), p. 31.

18. The Annual Report on Activities carried out under Public Law 480, 83rd Congress, as amended during the period January 1 through December 31, 1969, Washington, D.C., June 18, 1970, p. 2.

19. Ibid., p. 93.

20. Peterson Report, Op. cit., p. 32.

21. Charles R. Frank, Jr., Debt and Terms of Aid, Overseas Development Council, Washington, D.C., 1970, p. 1.

22. Peterson Report, Op. cit., p. 33.

23. Myrdal, Op. cit., 294.

24. Harry G. Johnson, Op. cit., p. 28.

25. "International Dependency in the 1970's," Africa Research Group, Cambridge, Mass., February, 1970, p. 60. (Quoted from Mr. Salzman's remarks.)

26. See Agency for International Development, U.S. Foreign Aid in the Near East and South Asia, Proposed Fiscal Year 1970 Program, p. 5.

27. George Beckford, "Issues in the Windward-Jamaica Banana War," New World Quarterly 11, 1(1965); Horace B. Davis, "The Decolonization of Sugar in Guyana," Caribbean Studies VII, 3 (1967), p. 37, cited in James O'Connor, "International Corporations and Economic Development" (mimeographed), p. 50.

See also "The International Corporation and the Nation State," Business International, New York, 1968 (mimeographed), for a good summary of the conflicts of interest between foreign (including multinational) corporations and undeveloping host countries:

> (1) Fear that the international corporation will take too much and leave too little. The fear is often expressed that the big foreign corporation will take away the national resources (oil, iron ore, foodstuffs, etc.), all the profits, the most able local people (hence the brain drain), and leave only the crumbs in the form of low wages, low compared to the wages the same corporations pay at home.
>
> (2) Fear that the international corporation will crush local competition and quickly achieve a monopolistic dominance of the local market if not the local economy. "Who can compete with the enormous technical resources of a giant corporation whose annual sales are more than the French national budget?"
>
> (3) Fear of becoming dependent on foreign sources for modern technology needed for national defense, and for being competitive in world markets.
>
> (4) Fear that the international corporation's local subsidiary will be used as an instrument of foreign policy by the government of the parent company. For example, in the case of a U.S. subsidiary, fear that the U.S. government will prohibit sales to certain markets (Red China, Cuba, North Korea, North Vietnam, etc.); or that the U.S. government will prohibit the parent from sending certain technology to the subsidiary which technology would be useful locally for national defense or for other purposes; or fear that the U.S. government will prevent the U.S. parent from sending new capital to the local subsidiary, and will require the local subsidiary to remit virtually all of its earnings home thus damaging the balance of payments of the local government.
>
> (5) Fear that the good jobs will be taken by the parent company in callous disregard for their impact on the local town, province, or even on the national economy. For example - a decision to close down a factory and put thousand of workers out of jobs.

28. Claude McMillan, International Enterprises in a Developing Economy: A Study of United States Business in Brazil, East Lansing, Michigan, 1964, p. 205.

29. Quoted in O'Connor, Op. cit., p. 47.

30. Erich Fromm and Michael Maccoby, Social Character in a Mexican Village, McGraw Hill, 1970.

31. Ivan Illich, Celebration of Awareness, Doubleday, 1970, p. 165.

32. Gibert Clee, "Guidelines for Global Business," Columbia Journal of World Business 1 (Winter 1966).

33. Malmgren and Kimmins, Op. cit., p. 1.

34. Quoted in Barnet, Op. cit., p. 274.

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JEROME JACOBSON'S COMMENTARY

Since I don't want my differences with Professor Barnet to turn on a misunderstanding, I had better tell you what I think he has said:

1. The U.S. is not interested in development. It gives aid only because of its interest in U.S. security. It showers military aid on undemocratic regimes to keep them entrenched, preferring the so-called stability cum colonels to a revolutionary cum egalitarian society.

Military aid and sale programs should stop. If we stopped, maybe we could get the Russians and the Chinese to stop too.

2. Economic aid programs further enrich the rich and keep the poor impoverished. Our tied loans, preference cargos, and the exporting of our domestic problems, viz. surplus food--they reduce the real amount of our aid and maintain LDC's in servile relationship to us.

3. Our trade policies--tariffs, quotas, stockpiling disposals, opposition to commodity agreements--stifle economic development.

4. U.S. private LDC investors are exploiters. Basic materials are exported by U.S. firms at prices that LCD's cannot control: development of local industry is thwarted by competition from U.S.-controlled firms, the U.S. foists its own tastes and goods upon impoverished nations, wasting its resources, whetting appetites that cannot be satisfied.

5. Since development must spring from individual motivation, the rich must let the pie be cut differently; the poor must believe they have a stake in society. Through effective land reform, egalitarian educational and health programs, North Vietnam, Cuba, China, have made the progress that our aid dependencies have not. Instead of bombing, boycotting, and blockading

revolutionary societies, we should applaud them.

6. Prescription: End the military basis for our aid programs: allow free entry of foreign goods, allow U.S. foreign investment only on terms satisfactory to the LDC's; relieve their debt service burdens, make a sweeping capital grant to an LDC-run development organization; then get out of the aid business.

No statement made by Barnet is wholly without merit, or wholly unshared by me. But almost all are wholly onesided. Let me illustrate:

1. Undoubtedly military aid can further entrench the privileged group, repress revolution, and maintain the status quo. Still, the picture is mixed, for the size and nature of military aid itself varies. Aid to South Korea is different from military aid to, say, Peru or Ecuador, or El Salvador. Interestingly, South Korea has had fairly effective land reform. And its fierce rate of economic growth has undoubtedly expanded opportunities in the non-agricultural sector and brought improved standards of living to large elements of the population.

Today's government of colonels in Peru and Bolivia seem more egalitarian than earlier governments. The pressures for reform and a more egalitarian society in Central America came more from young Turks among the colonels than from other quarters. The oligarchs think they can control them. That seems less certain today than yesterday.

Granted, military establishments are costly for LDC's to maintain. Let's not blame us entirely. The French, British, Italians, and others are prepared to sell jets, aircraft carriers, and tanks on credit. Governments in Africa and elsewhere using Russian and Chinese arms are using resources needed for economic development. Giving up our military aid will not necessarily dampen military outlays nor assure like action by the Eastern countries.

Anyway, Barnet's basic proposition is that more development will come from unseating the oligarchies than from reforming them. I do not believe that reform is impossible. In any case, egalitarianism should not be confused with development; one does not necessarily bring the other.

2. Let me say more about this. Granted, a peasant with motivation will work harder than one without it. Yet, if incomes are levelled, is there reason to believe that more resources will be available for development? This is at least a debatable point. Why are we to believe that more fertilizer, seed, and insecticides will come about through revolution than through more gradual improvement in today's societies? Cuba may be more egalitarian but it is not necessarily better developed. Bolivia's turmoil will not necessarily propel development.

3. Professor Barnet states that a servile relationship exists between the U.S. and aid recipients. Certainly this is less so now than before. Nigerians are not servile, nor Indians, nor Pakistanis; Brazilians stand up straight. What some describe as our "deteriorating" relations within the OAS itself points up the independence of some of our aid receivers.

4. What of our commercial policies? Quotas on beef, textiles, and shoes are deplorable but are they the whole measure of our policies? Our imports from LDC's rise--both of manufactures and other goods. We are pushing a generalized preference agreement; some LDC's--certainly the oil and copper producers--are in better control of the terms of trade than before. We have made the coffee agreement go and while reluctant about other commodity agreements, let's note that the producing-exporting countries also differ in their views about them. It is not our policies that are so wrong. It is that we are powerful, productive, efficient. It is that which the LDC's can't overcome.

5. Is U.S. technology a means for entrapment of the poor? Does the "Green Revolution" enrich the rich while denying its benefits to the poor? Maybe not enough trickles down to the poor, but surely they are better off because of the Revolution than without it. Had it not occurred, there would be even greater need for PL 480 programs than today. We would be deliberately creating agricultural surpluses to feed the world and that very act would be condemned by Professor Barnet.

The flaw of PL 480 is that it helped governments defer necessary decisions on price and related farm policies; that the too easily available funds permitted governments to undertake dubious programs including military programs; and it permitted them to forego necessary fiscal and monetary reforms. Easy money encourages easy habits.

6. Yes, private U.S. investment has exploited LDC's--but not always. Surely there is more development today because of such investment than would exist without it; more export earnings, more management and technical skills, more local ownership, and even more government ownership of industry than would otherwise exist.

Past practices of United Fruit do not characterize all development. Anyway, changes are occurring. Countries with oil, copper, iron ore, bauxite, nickel and alumina negotiate from greater positions of power today than yesterday. The status of foreign investors is changing. The danger is that they will be frightened into withdrawing, ending the flow of capital and management skills that the LDC's need so badly.

7. He and I agree that fewer strings on our aid are in order. Tied loans and 50-50 shipping should be done away with. The PL 480 shares-of-the-market concept may be offensive, but it is not wholly irrational. There were cases where PL 480 recipients would be off-loading our grain while exporting grains at the same time.

8. Professor Barnet says that the U.S. should make a large, one-time grant to an international agency "representing the poor countries at least as heavily as the rich" ... "and then get out of the aid business."

I'm not sure what this means. What happens when this one-time capital grant runs out? Would grants and loans be oriented more towards egalitarian measures? If so, we're back to the question of whether development and egalitarianism are the same thing. Why should the U.S. get out of the aid business. Why not correct the flaws in our program instead of drawing in our necks?

There is unspoken faith in Barnet's words that his policies will somehow provide for LDC's the capital they need and that they will administer it better than development capital is now administered. His presumption is disingenuous. When the one-time grant runs out more would be asked for. We would not be out of the aid program. The new institution would find it far more difficult than the IBRD to raise capital in private markets. And there is no reason to believe that dollar-for-dollar it would create more development than existing agencies. LDC's have been known to waste resources, sometimes in the name of political necessity, other times in the name of egalitarian projects.

Professor Barnet's confidence that revolution will bring about development more effectively than today's brand of development is his article of faith. I don't share it. It is not the notion of revolution which frightens me. It is the destruction rather than the creation of economic and political values that revolution can cause which turns me off.

The peasant in revolutionary Cuba may well be better off than the oligarch-dominated peasant in certain countries. Maybe revolution is the only answer for these countries. For all LDC's, I am sure it is not. I find no reason to believe that India would be better off after a revolution than with the slow progress being made today.

Apparently this puts me in the camp of the evolutionists: Improve the quality and quantity of our aid; free our trade policies; push more actively for reform; do not run from governments simply because they appear radicalized; hold back investment guarantees from investments which seem rapacious. But do not doctrinairely assume that the revolutionary society is the answer to the development problem.

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STEPHEN HYMER'S COMMENTARY

I agree with much of what Richard Barnet has said but I wish he had gone further. I think I see in his paper what another conference I attended called the shrinkage effect. His critique is radical but his policy suggestions shrink from emphasizing how drastic the change in America must be if it is to promote development rather than underdevelopment. Perhaps he was trying to be gentle. The new left, unlike many of the people here, does not have authority. It cannot worry too much about being "responsible" in the policy makers' sense. It must provide some thunder.

First, let us establish a few propositons on which we can all agree.

1. Although the world appears to be organized on the basis of sovereign nation states, in fact a highly interdependent world economic and political system cutting across national systems has existed for the past several hundreds of years and we are becoming increasingly integrated at a breakneck pace. Ever since Columbus discovered America, the world market has played a deterring role in the life of all nations and the current implosion based on the communications revolution is making that fact obvious to all.

The economic indicators do not fully reflect the extent of these indicators. Exports from the underdeveloped countries seem to play a minor role in the developed countries when measured in dollars. However, in labor time they account for from 10 to 20 percent of the human resources of underdeveloped countries. This means a lot of people there working for us here.

2. The world system is marked by great inequalities within and between countries. If we drop the veil of the nation state and view the world spectrals in terms of major and minor cities and their hinterlands, we observe high concentrations of wealth and power in a few places dominating their surrounding lowlands. Even within the major cities great disparities exist. It is symbolically significant that the Bowery and Wall Street exist so close together.

Those at the top of the world's pyramids have higher income, status, dignity and power. They have wider life spaces and broader horizons. They are the head and the stomach, while those at the bottom are the arms and feet.

3. This unequal structure is supported by physical, symbolic, and structural coercion. Those on top control capital, i.e., the capacity to organize men and plan the future. They have a monopoly of information and the physical instruments of violence. They use them, as Dick Barnet has pointed out, to stabilize this depending relationship.

4. The system is reproducing itself. The gaps are not narrowing and may be widening. At the very least they are being maintained.

5. However the cost of maintaining the system is increasing. Its ideology is breaking down as capital accumulation and technological change make equality possible. There are great rifts between and within the privileged sectors. Military costs are rising at an alarming rate.

If we use Crane Briton's analysis of the Anatomy of Revolution, we find most of the preliminary signs of revolution that characterize old regimes present in our society.

(a) A Fiscal Crisis of the State in the midst of a growing economy reflecting the erosion of political consensus.

(b) The Transfer of Allegiance of Intellectuals characterized by a reforming zeal, a flaming sense of the immediacy of the idea, a feeling there is something better than the present fate--a conviction that what is not only ought not but need not.

(c) A Crisis of Confidence in the Ruling Class - doubts about the justice of their position; sporadic trigger happy inefficient use of force; the presence of rebellious radicals in the ruling class.

Evidence for the first four of these propositions is clearly presented in Barnet's paper. The present meeting is itself a partial proof of the fifth.

What is the cure? I agree with Barnet. Power must be decentralized and spread more evenly. But I believe him wrong in assuming that this can be done without a radical transformation of institutions. Heroic political battles are not enough. We need to "change our heads"--to use a current phrase from the movement--and completely restructure our concepts of progress, freedom, democracy, etc.

We might present one example to illustrate how difficult the transition may be. Our system is built on private capital and its dominant institution is the large corporation. In my view these institutions cannot be adapted to a world of more equally distributed power.

1. They are authoritarian institutions based on hierarchies of power. There is much confusion about this central element of our society. Most social scientists--especially economists and political scientists--have concentrated on the freedom and equality of the market and the polling booth as the dominant elements of modern capitalism. They have neglected the equally pervasive feature of the absence of freedom in the work process, where people relate in the form of superior and subordinate, driven by the fear of deprivation and starvation if they do not work. The large corporate pyramid is the despotism of the factory writ large. We cannot begin to talk of freedom and independence between countries or within countries without considering the need to transform conditions of work and its corresponding education process. (The usual answer to this point is that hierarchy discipline and authority are necessary for efficiency. It is a striking feature of the way our society conceives freedom that it cannot even imagine freedom to be possible during one-half of our waking life, except for the privileged elite at the top, who it is agreed, unlike everyone else, work better in creative, unstructured environments.)

2. They are growth oriented. The whole structure of expectations in business enterprise is based on constant growth and the continuous introduction of new consumer goods. What business firm could adopt a policy of zero growth? They could no longer obtain capital or personnel to keep them going efficiently. Yet their growth orientation is ecologically unsound and socially undesirable. What we need is not the introduction of new goods for higher income groups but the distribution of old goods to the deprived majority of the world's population, an increase in public goods which are distributed freely, and more leisure. The profit maximizing corporate system cannot do this.

3. Finally, large corporations are international. Many large corporations have 40 to 50 percent of their employees outside the United States. The large European corporations are also becoming international. This inter-

nationalism involves a concentration of power, i.e., a drawing together of lines of control that extend all over the world but are centered in the large metropolis. The new internationalism of the multinational corporation implies a spider's web of control and the perpetuation of inequality.

Radical changes in this structure are necessary if the goals Barnet hopes for are to be achieved. But corporations are not likely to sit by and allow the curtailment of their plans suggested by Barnet. Their interests on this point conflict with that of the population as a whole in the United States and outside.

I have used the corporation as a metaphor to indicate how far reaching change must be if it is to be effective. Personally I do not view the prospect of change with pessimism. The great ferment in this land and throughout the world about the basis of social life hints at great possibilities for future organization. The biggest danger is that those who hold power will use violence to preserve it. The choice of weapons is up to them. But they are in trouble and they know it. The question is not whether a metamorphosis will take place, but when and how.

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ROBERT HUNTER'S COMMENTARY

This paper by Richard Barnet has obvious value in criticizing principles and practices of U.S. involvement in developing countries that hinder rather than help their own efforts. There has been excessive preoccupation in U.S. foreign policy--most recently in the Nixon Doctrine--with giving military rather than economic support. We have often been unhappy about the emergence of forms of government that might prove more independent of the United States. We have paid too little attention to the impact of the multinational corporation in the developing world, and have been too ready to accept the inequality in bargaining capability between rich and poor nations as a just and natural situation. There has been a strong sense that "America knows best" in its dealings with peoples in the developing world. Worst of all, there is still little willingness in official Washington to see and accept these and other problems. Indeed, these attitudes were evident in some of the seminar discussion on Mr. Barnet's paper which took place at the Overseas Development Council.

But the remarkable thing about Mr. Barnet's paper lies in the apparent contradiction between his analysis and his prescriptions for action. In general, the latter merely reflect variations on a number of ideas that have gained widespread currency in recent years. This leads to the conclusion that either his prescriptions are inadequate to deal with the problem as he sees it, or his analysis is somewhat overdrawn.

The latter appears to be the case. The relationship between the United

States and developing countries, for example, is surely more subtle, complex, and full of dilemmas than Mr. Barnet implies. In part this weakness in the paper derives from a problem of values. To begin with, it seems to make some of the same mistakes attributed to the supporters of U.S. relations with the developing world, but from the opposite point of view. He expresses strong opposition to the export of American values. Yet Mr. Barnet then advances a set of values of his own. It may, indeed, be better to foster "personal fulfillment" instead of "consumerism," but this value itself is nonetheless an export, as are judgments Mr. Barnet makes about what people in developing countries "do not need." Even more important, he has enshrined the value of "equality" above all others, without indicating how any society will then be able to provide the incentives and organization needed to produce goods to serve even the most egalitarian of social goals. Nor does he meet the ethical problems that putting this one goal ahead of all others inevitably raises.

In addition, his paper argues throughout that U.S. self-interest in its policies towards the developing world somehow robs these policies of value for the developing countries: our motives must be pure, or our effort is not tolerable. So, too, there is a strong sense that the U.S. must make "sacrifices," as much in order to make equality among nations apparent as for the benefits they might permit to be shifted to others. For example, Mr. Barnet finds something wrong with the Food for Peace program, partly because it costs the United States very little, even though it permits the transfer of billions of dollars' worth of food. Again, the lack of equality among nations is seen as a function of an imperialism that can have no redeeming feature.

Furthermore, Mr. Barnet's paper seems to represent the United States as the country uniquely involved in stifling development. This attitude seems to reflect the vision held by the "liberal interventionists" of the post-war era--that somehow what the United States does will largely determine the outcome of events elsewhere in the world, through the sheer magnitude of our power and presence. Here, however, it is an omnipotence that will produce unacceptable results, just as the liberal school foresaw only universally valid goals of peace and stability. Officials in poor countries are seen as powerless to resist the blandishments of Americans who dangle capital before them, with strings attached. Leaders of the developing world are depicted as too ignorant to try protecting themselves, and they need to be sheltered from temptation--a condescending view with a long tradition in Western imperialism. Yet when it comes actually to promoting development, the U.S. is depicted as suddenly powerless to help.

Even more important, Mr. Barnet's paper implies that the benefits which poor countries might derive in the process, despite inherent problems, are of little or no account. This is particularly noticeable in his section on private investment. Admittedly, there are dilemmas in the relations of corporations to developing countries, just as there are in the aid relationship. Yet the alternative to recognizing dilemmas, and searching for ways to preserve control by the LDC's over their own future, may be no investment and no aid at all. In this paper, there is little attempt to strike a balance between good and bad parts of these relations, or to suggest ways of resolving the dilemmas, just as Mr. Barnet's critics tend to gloss over the problems he has addressed.

Finally, Mr. Barnet tends to let his examples--particularly the tragedy of Indo-China--stand for the whole of the developing world, while he dismisses more hopeful examples of U.S. action as uncharacteristic, or ignores them altogether. He then implies that reform will itself work wonders; that military regimes will necessarily fail to promote development; or that the experience of Cuba and China should not be judged by the same standards applied to other developing countries.

For all these reasons, therefore, the valid criticisms presented by Mr. Barnet's paper are sometimes obscured by an effort to condemn the United States morally in the act of commenting on its shortcomings; and his absolute standard of equality depreciates the relative benefits that could be gained by developing countries from U.S. policy despite the problems it creates.

But despite these limitations, this paper does appraoch a subject that is rarely discussed. It is certainly not a popular viewpoint among development professionals, because it calls into question basic purposes and methods. And, in today's climate of scepticism about American involvement in the developing world, many of these professionals have a tendency to shy away from criticism they fear might erode any sensible rationale for continuing development assistance at all. Faith must be preserved inviolate, or it may crumble altogether. Because of this fact, if for no other, therefore, Mr. Barnet's paper is a valuable stimulus to thought.

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MR. BARNET'S REPLY TO MR. HUNTER'S COMMENTS

I would like to point out a few issues raised by Mr. Hunter's comments on my paper. As I stated in my paper, many of the proposals I make are not original. They have been suggested by the poor countries themselves. So far as I know, none of them has been tried. My guess is that even if all I suggest were done, it would still be "inadequate" but that hardly suggests that the analysis is "over drawn," as Mr. Hunter terms it, but that the problems of development require a more searching and far-reaching analysis than anyone has yet done. I am convinced, however, that the program I suggest would greatly help the position of the poor countries. That the U.S. and indeed the other developed countries are unwilling to take such steps suggests to me that the are politically constituted in such a way that they cannot promote development.

I make no apology for introducing a value-laden definition of development. Any other definition would be a pretense. The official definition of development is of course heavily value-laden. I maintain that they are largely anti-democratic and anti-humanist values. I should add only that the values adopted in the paper are not mine but what I believe to be those expressed in many different forms by political leaders, economists, and the people of the poor countries themselves.

I do not believe and never suggested that the United States is "uniquely involved in stifling development." Other developed countries have similar policies. The paper concentrated on the United States not only because that was the assigned topic but also because the United States is indeed in a position to exert a more powerful influence than any other country. However, the point of the paper was that the United States is not "omnipotent."

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SOME DIMENSIONS OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS EDUCATION

by Paul M. Dietterich

INTRODUCTION

International affairs education in the churches is a process through which persons become open and empathic to other people and cultures, develop ordering and analytical skills for making judgments about crucial international issues in light of the ethical implications of the Gospel, and express their concerns through effective political and social involvement.

This definition of international affairs education emphasizes the fact that such education is a process through which the churches are to help people deal with four concerns: inclusion, perception, values, and influence.

Inclusion. The inclusion concern asks the question, "Who do we include in our world?" How broad is the scope of our concern for others? Instead of a life-style that promotes exclusiveness and permits eliminating from concern large segments of humanity, the educational task of the churches is to help people become more inclusive, more open and accepting of other people, including others whose behavior may be quite different from accepted cultural norms.

Perception. The perception concern asks the question, "How do we see what is going on?" Do we see people and events with clarity so that we understand the realities of the international scene? Instead of reality-distortion including the denying, confusing, and screening-out of data from the world, the educational task is to help people develop skills which promote more accurate perception and understanding of their world. Since the world of international affairs is so complex, dealing as it does with so many disciplines and variables, and requiring so much information before intelligent judgments can be made, the churches have a responsibility for helping people become more skilled in perceiving, understanding, and interpreting the world.

Values. The values concern asks the question, "What do we want out of life?" What is of greatest importance? Instead of a life-style that accepts uncritically the cultural norms as its primary values, the task of international affairs education is to help people develp a growing and expanding hierarchy of values, including the ability to evaluate cultural norms from the point of view of Christian ethical teaching.

Influence. The influence concern asks the question, "How do we get involved?" What style do we choose for taking part in the world? Instead of a life-style that promotes apathetic involvement, including withdrawal from the world, the task of international affairs education is to help people develop the kinds of political and social skills which promote political effectiveness and lead to the solution of national and world problems.

The definition of international affairs education can be re-stated to make more explicit these four concerns:

> International affairs education in the churches is a process through which persons become open and empathic to other people and cultures (inclusion), develop ordering and analytical skills for making judgments about crucial international issues (perception) in light of the ethical implications of the Gospel (values), and express their concerns through effective political and social involvement (influence).

ASSUMPTIONS

Implicit in this material is a doctrine of the church which holds that it is the purpose of Christians and the Church to witness to Christ, to demonstrate in thought and action that Jesus Christ is the Lord of human life. This means sharing Christ's concern for all mankind (inclusion), hearing God speak through world affairs, the ecumenical church, the critical and rebellious (perception), articulating the ethical demands of the Gospel as they relate to the events of international affairs (values), becoming involved in responsible action leading to a transformed culture and a transformed world where people are open to the working of the Holy Spirit and where justice and peace prevail (influence).

Implicit in this material is a theory of personality development. The critical dimensions of personality growth are assumed to be those identified in the four primary concerns. The healthy personality has growing awareness of himself and of his own motivations and can live with this awareness. Just as he accepts himself, so he can also accept others and trust them (inclusion). He is able to participate with others in giving and receiving information and in testing his understanding of this information (perception). He is able to determine his own intrinsic goals, create new ones as he grows, work with others to create group goals, and, as he grows, he can permit his intrinsic motivations also to change (values). He can participate with others in solving problems, without being either overly dependent upon others or fighting them in counterdependent ways. He works well in joint inquiry and joint problem-solving (influence).[1]

Implicit in this material is a theory of education. A process of growth is involved in which growth in each dimension is contingent upon growth in each of the other dimensions. Ability to listen to and perceive world events will be possible only if there is a growing positive affect toward different others, or, in other words, if progress has been made in solving the inclusion problems. The development of an expanding hierarchy of loyalties in which Christian ethical teachings are related to cultural norms will not be done adequately until the perception and inclusion factors have been solved.

Effective political and social action will not result; in fact, people will not be able to become involved politically and socially until first they have grown along the preceding three dimensions: values, perception, and inclusion. This does not mean to imply that these four concerns can only be handled one at at time in all matters equally. It does mean, in relation to international affairs, that the same person may be ready to act in some politically effective way on some issue, while he is still on the perception level on some other issue, thus needing several kinds of help simultaneously. Part of the educational task is to help people move in systematic ways along these four paths.

LIMITATIONS

No attempt is made here to claim that this theory is all-inclusive. It is primarily a social-psychological theory, in an embryonic state of development, to be tested and criticized in order to be strengthened and improved. It is written in the context of the need for developing an educational plan in international affairs for the churches and it speaks to that need. It is primarily a diagnostic model to assist in understanding the process of international affairs education, in the belief that if issues can be raised and perceived, it will then be possible to design learning experiences around them. This theory does not propose a full-blown plan, nor does it suggest designs for learning experiences.

Many of the recommendations in this paper deal with things we in the churches and in education generally do not know how to do. For instance, no long-range program for international affairs education exists in the churches, partly because no one knows exactly what such a plan means. In addition, no designs exist that help people progress systematically through the above four concerns.

These limitations do not eliminate the need for the kinds of thought and programming which we do not have as yet, but rather serve to expose even more clearly our need for them if the churches are to become involved in a major program of international affairs education. The great strength of this theory is that it places international affairs education not as one minor content ingredient in present educational programs, but as a process with implications for the churches at many levels: theologically, structurally, educationally. It is a call for examining present educational efforts. It is a search for new approaches.

TABLE I
DIMENSIONS OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS EDUCATION

PRIMARY CONCERN	SYMPTOMS OF UNRESOLVED CONCERNS	SYMPTOMS OF RESOLVED CONCERNS	EDUCATIONAL TASK
INCLUSION:	Prejudice, ethnocentrism: distrust, paranoia.	Growing positive affect toward self and others, including different others.	Acceptance of self and others, defense-reduction skills.
	Atrophy of affection, parochialism.	Openness, boundary permeability.	Empathy skills, inter-cultural experience.
PERCEPTION:	Perceptual screening, denial.	Receives data from many sources, tests perceptions.	Data-flow from other people and nations, conflict-management skills.
	Subjective analysis: false assumptions, inadequate theories.	Objective analysis: tests assumptions, tests theories.	Ordering and analytical skills, models for analysis.
VALUES:	Uncritical attachment to cultural norms.	Cultural objectivity, evaluates cultural norms.	Integration of Christian ethical teaching to culture.
	Atrophy of self, loss of identity.	Growth of self, high personal identity.	Freedom for self-assessment, interpretation of Christian identity.
INFLUENCE:	Apathy, flight, withdrawal, dependency.	Involvement, high commitment.	Problem-solving skills related to crucial international issues.
	Emotional release, hostility, counter-dependency.	Political effectiveness in community, nation, world.	Change-agent skills related to political situations.

PROBLEMS FACING INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EDUCATION IN THE CHURCHES

The traditional style of international affairs education in the churches has been based, like most of the rest of secular and religious education, on appeals to reason. People have been provided with information about crucial international issues on the assumption that (1) they desire to know about world affairs and care about other people and nations, (2) that they understand the information presented to them, (3) that such understanding will be sufficient to motivate them to some form of action, (4) that the action taken will reflect the teachings and concerns of the Gospel, and (5) will be politically effective. Unfortunately none of these assumptions is necessarily true. If information-input would solve the world's problems, the tons of printed and other resources that have been circulated through the churches and the secular press would have done the job long ago. The problems of international affairs education are more complex than has often been assumed. The remainder of this paper will deal with these major problems and suggest possible directions leading to solutions, based around the four primary concerns: inclusion, perception, values, and influence.

THE INCLUSION PROBLEMS

Fundamental to the total process of international affairs education is the task of helping people become more accepting of and concerned for other. This teaching is basic to the Gospel which instructs Christians to love their neighbors, not only the near neighbors who are like them, but the distant neighbors who may be quite different.

Unfortunately, as Table 1 points out (note the "Symptoms of Unresolved Concerns"), there is clear evidence to indicate that the attitudes of church members today are almost the direct opposite of what the churches teach. Two major inclusion problems appear: (1) prejudice, ethnocentrism, and (2) atrophy of affection, parochialism.

Prejudice, Ethnocentrism: Distrust, Paranoia

Instead of finding in the churches a growing, positive love toward self and others, we find prejudice and ethnocentrism, leading to distrust and paranoia.

Prejudice has been defined as ". . . an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group."[2]

Ethnocentrism is a related term. One definition says: "Ethnocentrism is based on a pervasive and rigid ingroup-outgroup distinction; it involves stereotyped negative imagery and hostile attitudes regarding outgroups, stereotyped positive imagery and submissive attitudes regarding ingroups, and a hierarchial, authoritarian view of groups interaction in which ingroups are rightly dominant, outgroups subordinate."[3]

Bernhard E. Olson prefers the term ethnocentrism to the term prejudice. He thinks it is more specific in meaning. Ethnocentrics, he says, "make their own groups the normative center of all their thinking."[4]

Accompanying prejudice and ethnocentrism are distrust of outgroups and, in extreme cases, paranoia.

Gordon Allport, summarizing his research on the psychology of religion and the psychology of prejudice, wrote, "It is a well-established fact in social science that, on the average, churchgoers in our country harbor more racial, ethnic, and religious prejudice than do non-churchgoers."[5] Other surveys of the attitudes of church members have led researchers to comment:

> No Christian can approach the topic of prejudice with his head held high. His church is inextricably linked with generalized intolerance and a black history of anti-semitism. The bigot has a ready-made tradition.[6]
>
> I kept looking for little tinges of basic Christianity among those who attended church regularly. I found nothing.[7]

The close correlation between prejudice and religious orthodoxy led the author, Kirkpatrick, to conclude that religion is not a fount of humanitarianism and should not be supported as such. A study of 800 Protestant seminarians reported that the more conservative persons are in their religious ideology, the more they tend to exhibit prejudice against and to reject such outgroups as Negroes, Jews, and persons of other nations, and to idealize the corresponding ingroups. Conversely, the more liberal the religious ideology, the greater the rejection of outgroup idealizations.[8]

One manifestation of prejudice and ethnocentrism verging on paranoia is the present national defensiveness. The proportion of the national budget that goes for military defense appropriations is far beyond any rational need for such defenses. The periodic witch-hunts in which "un-Americans" are ferreted out and exposed as dangers to the nation reveals a deep-seated fear of persons who will not conform to particular sets of national norms. On the one hand we find in the U.S.A. support for maintaining this nation as the one place on earth which is safe for diversity, while on the other hand we find evidence of great fear of diversity.

The Educational Task: International affairs education, to be effective, must discover ways of helping people change their attitudes, decrease their prejudice, ethnocentrism, and fear, and encourage a growing positive affect toward other people.

Smith, Bruner, and White point out that the changing of attitudes is a highly complex matter, requiring much sophistication. Attitudes, they say, serve at least three major functions in the economy of personality:

(1) Object appraisal. This involves the way information is received. The person who believes that all Jews are greedy, all Negroes ignorant, all Germans warlike, etc., has developed a tidy, orderly world for himself. If his assumptions are threatened, rather than live with the psychic dissonance this challenge creates, he normally tends to screen-out such threatening information (selective hearing).

(2) Social adjustment. This refers to the way a person's opinions facilitate, disrupt, or maintain his relations with significant others. He may organize his attitudes in response to both nonconformist and conformist motives.

(3) Externalization. Here a person responds to external events by projecting his own attitudes and inner problems on others. The authors tell of one of their subjects, personally greedy for his share of the world's goods and prestige to a greater degree than he could admit, who conceived of the Soviet leadership with imagery of "pigs at the trough." Included under externalization are manifestations of the Freudian mechanisms of displacement and projection. Outwardly the person indicates a desire to appraise the world situation, but inwardly he is unwittingly carrying on some of the work of tension-reduction that is necessary in dealing with his inner problems.

If these conclusions are accurate, international affairs educators must discover ways to (1) present information in such a way that it can break through the scanning filter to reorient persons' appraisals of reality in terms of personal needs, goals, and values; (2) influence group norms; and (3) when the problem is externalization, provide authoritative reassurances to alleviate anxiety, promote self-insight, and even psychoanalytic therapy.[9] Sensitivity training laboratories and similar defense-reducing, trust-building experiences as conducted by the National Training Laboratories and other agencies may be useful educational instruments.

Henry Cohen suggests five methods of prejudice reduction in religious education:

(1) Identification with the Will of God. The principle is based on the authority factor, that the more credible the source, the greater the effect of the speaker on attitude change. Can there be a more credible source than God, who loves all His

Table 2
CHURCH TEACHING AND PRESENT SITUATION

Church Teaching (Resolved Concerns)	Present Situation (Unresolved Concerns)
1. Growing positive affect toward self and others, accepting diversity of behavior.	1. Prejudice, ethnocentrism: distrust, paranoia.
2. Openness, boundary permeability, with a growing hierarchy of loyalties.	2. Atrophy of affection, parochialism.
3. Able to receive data from many sources, tests perceptions.	3. Perceptual screening, denial.
4. Objective analysis, including testing assumptions and theories.	4. Subjective analysis, false assumptions and theories.
5. Cultural objectivity, able to evaluate cultural norms from the point of view of Christian ethical teaching.	5. Uncritical attachment to cultural norms, identification of cultural norms with Christianity.
6. Growth of the self, including high personal identity as a child of God in an inter-racial, international spiritual fellowship.	6. Atrophy of self, loss of identity, close identification with nation or race.
7. Active involvement in seeking solutions to social problems, peacemaking, reconciling.	7. Apathy, flight, withdrawal, dependency.
8. Political effectiveness in community, nation, world.	8. Emotional release, hostility, counter-dependency.

children and instructs man to care for his neighbor of whatever race, creed, or nation?

(2) Identification with the Noble Example. This method involves presenting an exemplary person who is to be imitated. It suggests value standards for the individual and the community.

(3) Identification with the Victim of Prejudice. This procedure is more effective than the two above and involves learning empathy skills. (The next section of this paper deals with empathy skills.)

(4) Learning about Prejudice. Here the student is given information about minority groups or outgroups with a view to proving the fallacy of stereotypes. It has been found to be ineffective in itself.

(5) Changing the Group Structures. The attempt is to promote equal status contacts of groups pursuing common goals with community support. This is difficult to do but by far the most lasting and effective in changing attitudes.[10]

Cohen's analysis, based on research conducted over several years, has validity and should be taken into account in developing educational programs in international affairs. Careful use of biblical material, church policy statements on crucial issues, stories of heroes of the faith, and other related resources should be integrated into the educational design. There are many ways in which people can be helped to identify with victims of injustice. The facts about prejudice and ethnocentrism are readily available. The most significant and by far most difficult educational task, however, will be discovering ways of changing group structures and norms, for this implies working on a national level, at the level of the local community, and in all manner of voluntary organizations. Discovering ways of changing group norms to influence attitudes may well be the major task of international affairs education.

Atrophy of Affection, Parochialism

Instead of a spirit of openness with the boundaries of one's concerns growing and expanding, we find atrophy of affection and parochialism.

The person who has atrophied in his affection is suffering from a kind of stunted growth; he has cut off certain segments of the human race from the scope of his concern. He suffers for this by closing himself to a wealth of knowledge and experience that could be his if he were open to other persons and cultures. Individuals atrophy; nations also atrophy.

Gunnar Myrdal points out that ". . . in none of the existing national cultures are people educated to know and like people in other countries who are different from themselves; on the contrary, they are often indoctrinated with national self-righteousness and are apt to despise, fear, and hate those who are outside the nation and live differently."[11] Americans, taught that they live in "the land of the free and the home of the brave," and that their nation is first in war and first in peace and first in the hearts of its countrymen, may be victims of their own educational system and suffer from a built-in parochialism.

A recent world-wide study done by Lambert and Klineberg of children's attitudes toward foreign peoples, in the U.S.A., Bantu children in South Africa, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, Israel, Japan, Lebanon, and Turkey, should be noted. All children were asked, "if you were not an (American, or Bantu, or Brazilian, etc.) what would you most like to be?" Children in other countries easily named a number of alternative nationalities, but American children found it difficult to name any other nationality they would like to be.[12]

It may be of interest to note that American children had no difficulty choosing what nationalities they would not like to be.

If these attitudes carry over into the adult world, we may be helped to understand some of the reasons for America's traditional isolationist foreign policies, its unilateralism including the present Pax Americana, the fact that the U.S.A. never joined the League of Nations, and why the U.S.A. is only partially a member of the United Nations (e.g., the Connally Amendment witholding the U.S.A. from full participation in the decisions of the International Court of Justice, and the refusal of the U.S. Senate to act on Human Rights Covenants of the United Nations).

Howard Reed charges that even the academic communities in the United States tend to be parochial, although on a somewhat more sophisticated scale. He points to the lack of opportunities in America for Asian and African studies, the scarcity of universities where students can learn languages other than northern European languages, the tendency of history texts to assume that world history began in the West and the almost complete ignoring of the history and culture of the East, including Egypt, India, and China, all of whose civilizations were far advanced when western society was still extremely primitive.[13]

Dr. Alfred O. Hero, Jr., reports that of the three major religious groups in America, Protestants are the most conservative and the least concerned about people in need in the world. Non-church members and atheists, he says, are the best informed and most concerned for human suffering in the world. Jews tend to be sharply better informed and considerably more liberal than Protestants about virtually all aspects of international affairs. On the issue of foreign aid, for example, the majority of Jews would either increase foreign economic aid or, at least, keep it at prevailing levels, but majorities of Protestants would reduce or terminate it. American Catholics have long been more favorably disposed to racial desegregation, social welfare programs, transfer of wealth from haves to have nots, and other charitable domestic programs than Protestants, including foreign aid. To make the picture even more dismal, within Protestantism, Negro church members favor international cooperation including foreign aid more than their white fellow churchmen. Dr. Hero concludes one report: "Most Protestants perceive little or no relationship between their supposed Christian commitments and world questions. The evidence seems overwhelming that Protestant churches have had very little impact on the attitudes and values of even their more active rank-and-file members on world affairs."[14] The evidence also suggests that white, Protestant Americans have atrophied in their affections, are concerned primarily about themselves and about people like themselves, and have ceased to enlarge or expand the boundaries of their concerns.

The Educational Task: One of the most effective ways of enabling persons to expand the boundaries of their concerns is to promote empathy, helping them learn to look at life from another person's or nation's point of view. Allport shows how empathic capacity is "a prominent feature in personalities possessing ethnic tolerance."[15] The empathic person is able to put himself in the other person's shoes. This does not necessarily mean that he accepts the other's point of view, but he can understand that other point of view and the motives and values it implies. High empathic capacity is a sign of high flexibility, the ability to know another person's state of mind and adapt to it. It is a sign, also, of skill in human relations. The Gospel instructs Christians to love one's neighbor as oneself, to be alert and sensitive to human need. Research in discovering ways to promote growth in empathic capacity should have priority among international affairs educational objectives in the churches.

Many new simulation exercises on international affairs are a welcome innovation in which participants grow in empathic capacity while they gain insight into the making of foreign policy from the perspective of other nations. Model U. N. Assemblies held each year in communities and schools across the nation also teach empathy, insofar as participants are able to get into the role of another nation. Role-playing as an educational technique is a way of helping persons put the content of another's message in their own words to others. Studies show that the one required to verbalize to others is able to increase in his openness to the point of view he is attempting to convey.[16]

The educational task also involves a careful look at the content of the curricula of the churches, missionary booklets and other texts, and in the nation's schools, colleges, and universities, including seminary education, to promote a broader world view that is open to other nations and cultures, that avoids paternalism, eliminates ethnocentric references (including maps), promotes the studies of non-Western languages and philosophies, and identifies people not primarily as "white" or "black" or "American" or other nationality, but fundamentally as members of the whole, diverse, human family.

In the summer of 1967 an international group of high school students met at Duisburg, Germany, following a period of study abroad and wrote a resolution, part of which said:

> We question present systems of education which educate the individual for his own interest and self-advancement.
>
> We also question the heavy academic subject discipline of the schools which tends to ignore the dimensions of social

> change in a world of economic and political injustice.
>
> We understand the goal of education to be the development of an international man who is characterized at least by the following:
>
> ... the awareness of the needs of others and responsible participation in meeting those needs.
>
> ... the ability to understand himself in the context of the struggle for true humanity.

The students concluded their resolution by calling for inter-cultural education. There is obviously much value in international educational exchanges which challenge the boundaries of one's concerns and promote understanding of other nations and cultures.

THE PERCEPTION PROBLEMS

Perception problems arise around the question, "How do I see what is going on?" If I have not made progress in the inclusion dimension, I shall not make headway in perceiving accurately the events of international affairs. My prejudices, fears, and parochialism will cause me to perceive events inaccurately, distorting, denying, confusing, and screening-out data from the world. If, however, I have made progress at the inclusion level so that my trust level is high and my defense level is low, I shall be far more able to receive information with little distortion. Table 1 shows two major perception problems: (1) perceptual screening, denial, and (2) subjective analysis.

Perceptual Screening, Denial

Instead of church people who are able to receive information from many sources and test their perceptions of this information, we find perceptual screening and denial.

Klineberg reminds us that we perceive (1) according to our previous experience and training, (2) according to our mental set, our expectations, and (3) according to what we want to perceive.[17] Hadley Cantril tells of the experiment with Mexican and American school teachers who looked into a device that showed a different picture to each eye at the same time: one picture showed a baseball player, the other a bullfighter. The Mexican teachers "saw" the bullfighter; the Americans "saw" the baseball player. What they saw was largely determined by whether they were Mexicans or Americans.[18] We can imagine the implications of our inability to perceive accurately when this is directed to international affairs. The same event can have far different meanings to people in different countries. The placing of U.S. rockets in Turkey was perceived as purely defensive by Americans but as an offensive, war-like maneuver by people in Russia. Russian missiles in Cuba were seen as a defensive measure by Russians but as a serious threat to world peace by Americans.

Jerome Frank, a psychiatrist, tells of the "mirror image" factor in perception, in which the opinions and attitudes of two contending sides may be mirror images of each other. "All evidence indicates that the Russian view of the Americans is a mirror image of our view of them; that is, we--or our leaders--are war-mongering, untrustworthy, and dangerous, while they are peace-loving and honorable."[19]

Another psychoanalytic mechanism at work in international affairs is denial, in which an unpleasant experience is assumed never to have happened, or a present dangerous situation is dismissed as nonexistent. The fact that many people in the world ignore the devastating consequences of nuclear war is a striking example of this process. Many people may refuse to face up to the dangers of the modern world because of their insensitivity to situations they consider remote. So people are prevented from making an effort to avoid danger by simply denying that danger exists.[20]

Add to these processes other psychologically distorting processes, rationalization, displacement, and repression, and the educational task comes more clearly into focus. No mere presenting of information will change the perceptions of people who will not even be capable of reading and understanding what is before them.

The Educational Task: The church must discover ways of helping people learn to test their perceptions of international events. In the churches we have the means for doing this: We can "listen" to the events around us in the world, testing our perceptions against the perceptions of Christians in other lands. In addition, we may test our perceptions against those who are critical and rebellious. The kind of data-flow process set into motion by this "listening" style should be a corrective to perceptual screening and denial.[21] Part of the educational task will be the discovery of ways to integrate such a data-flow process into the life of the church at all levels.

In addition, the educational task involves helping people develop skills in conflict management. When different perceptions become obvious, conflict is bound to arise. Since conflict, openly expressed and accepted, can be a healthy, growth-producing force, church people should learn to deal with conflict in creative ways.

Subjective Analysis: False Assumptions, Inadequate Theories

Instead of people capable of objective analysis based on tested assumptions and theories, we find uninformed people making subjective analyses based on false assumptions and theories.

Beginning at birth we organize our world in order to give adequate structure to our universe and make some sense out of our experience. We search for meaning, understanding, better organization of perceptions and beliefs to provide clarity and consistency. Katz calls this the "knowledge function."[22] It is difficult to gain clarity and consistency in the field of international affairs due to the great complexity of issues. Yet since we cannot live comfortably with the dissonance created by confusion, we arrive at certain conclusions about world affairs whether or not they are accurate.

Many people arrive at conclusions about world affairs based on hunches. Their judgment and decision-making is subjective. They follow no systematic pattern for arriving at their conclusions. Their conclusions may be wrong.

Others, including those in the Department of State, follow more orderly procedures for examining data and analyzing it, yet if their analysis is based on faulty data, or if their theories are incorrect, they too can arrive at incorrect conclusions (e.g., the tragic miscalculation about Chinese entry into the Korean conflict that cost thousands of lives on both sides).

The Educational Task: Part of the educational task is to help people develop skills in making objective analyses of international affairs by providing models for judgment and decision-making about world affairs. The Foreign Policy Association has developed ten models for making judgments about international affairs: economics, internal politics, international organization, international climate, military-strategic, long-range/short/range considerations, values, human factors, national goals, and power factors.[23] Such approaches as this promote more accurate perception of international events.

It is obvious that educational curricula must be influenced at all levels, elementary, secondary, as well as higher education and seminary education, to include instruction in models that promote objective analysis of international events. James M. Becker points to a variety of approaches to international affairs education: (1) a Discipline-Centered Approach (geography, anthropology, political science, history, economics), (2) an Area Approach (Asia, Latin America, Africa, etc.), (3) a Comparative Approach (learning by comparing political systems in the USA with the USSR, for example), (4) an Integrated Approach (for instance, studying culture through economics, anthropology, history, geography).[24]

THE VALUES PROBLEMS

The values concern asks the question, "What do we want out of life?" It deals with personal and group values and goals. It raises fundamental questions about life's meaning and purpose. It deals with life-philosophy, theology, and ethics. It is concerned with helping persons determine a hierarchy of values and goals in harmony with Christian ethical teachings.

Progress in the values dimension cannot be made until persons have resolved some of the inclusion and perception concerns. Since in the U.S.A. so many of the concerns at the inclusion and perception levels are unresolved, we should not be surprised at the lack of clear-cut national goals or at the values concerns that grip the nation.

Two major values problems are shown in Table 1: (1) Uncritical attachment to cultural norms, and (2) atrophy of self, loss of identity.

Uncritical Attachment to Cultural Norms

Instead of church people possessing cultural objectivity, having the capacity for evaluating cultural norms from the point of view of Christian ethical teachings, we find church members uncritically accepting cultural norms.

Perhaps one of the most vivid although extreme illustrations of church people identifying cultural norms as Christian norms is in the Christian Liberty Church in Chicago, where even the altar candles are red, white, and blue. That congregation celebrates "Americanism."

Jerome Frank tells us that values play a major part in developing a reality world for a person or a group. "Every person has to shield himself somehow from the unendurable realization that his individual life is a very fleeting and insignificant event in an indifferent universe. He does this by embracing an ideology or religion that links his life to some larger, more enduring purpose. For many this is an abstraction like God or Democracy or Communism. A shared ideology is vital not only to the individual but to his group as well, since the common philosophy of life binds the members together. Therefore, for many persons, surrendering the belief that gives meaning to their lives and links them to their group would be intolerable--it would represent a kind of psychological death harder to contemplate than biological death."[25] (Emphasis mine.)

Katz adds that persons tend to include their national identity as part of their self-concept, but this is latent in most situations. It can be aroused by confrontation with foreigners, or by the individual's perceptions of some events as matters of "national interest" or "national security."[26]

If a person has identified in a particular way with his nation, any challenge to that nation or culture will arouse within him great fear and defensiveness. The recent case of the father who disowned his son because the boy, a divinity school student, turned in his draft card in protest against the Vietnam War illustrates this point. In disowning his son the father commented, "Either you're a loyal American or you're not!" Not only is it obvious that the man values his Americanism more than his son, it also reveals this man's fear of ideological death. Rather than question his ideology, that which gives meaning to his life, he denounces his son.

The son, on the other hand, has apparently identified himself with a broader value-principle, his religion, which supercedes nationalism in his mind. In the name of Christianity, the son feels free to challenge the policies of the nation. He may see himself in the role of the reformers and prophets.

When we add to this illustration the history of most nations in dealing with draft-resisters, conscientious objectors, and other critics and dissenters, we gain some insight into the significance of the problem.

Contrast this with Osgood's concept of the three stages in social thinking. In stage one, we unconsciously project our own frame of reference onto others. In stage two, we recognize the relativistic nature of the other person's or nation's frame of reference but not our own. In stage three we realize the equally relativistic nature of our own frame of reference.[27]

The Educational Task: Part of the educational task is to help people develop along the lines of Osgood's stages of social thinking. International educational exchanges can contribute to such cultural objectivity. The primary educational task, however, is to help Christian people understand the ethical teachings of Christianity, to see how Christians are called to embrace values which supercede all national values. This is primarily a conceptual, theological task. Christians need to be helped to learn that Christianity should never be identified with any one political system or economic system. Christians have lived under all kinds of economic and political systems. The Christian is called to repentance, which is the beginning of the new life in Christ; repentance is a call not only to the individual but to society as a whole. Part of the role of the Christian is to be a critical participant in the society in which he finds himself. His chief loyalty is to God in Christ.[28] If inclusion and perception concerns have been partially resolved, this teaching can be done on the rational level.

Atrophy of Self, Loss of Identity

Instead of growing persons who find their identity as sons of God and members of an inter-racial, international spiritual fellowship (the Church), we find atrophy of self, loss of identity, and stunted growth.

It is possible for people to resist the forces that promote growth, to become inflexible, no longer open to a changing world. This concern is closely related to the preceding concern, but with one major difference--where the cultural objectivity goal is seen primarily in terms of conceptual development, this concern is seen in terms of personality growth.

Maslow speaks of a pyramid of needs, five levels along which human growth takes place. (1) The first level is basic physiological needs where the person seeks food and shelter. To advance at all to the other levels these basic needs must be met. (2) Safety and security needs must be met so that a person is able to have fair treatment in life. (3) Social needs involve a person in gaining acceptance, a sense of belonging, love. (4) Ego needs such as self-esteem and self-respect are next in a high position. (5) The final level is self-fulfillment and actualization in which a person develops his potentialities and through which also he becomes part of a larger community in relationship with God.

In spite of the fact that, according to Maslow, the surge of man's growth is toward self-fulfillment, it is possible for people to atrophy along the way. Some people never grow beyond meeting with their basic physiological needs. Others stop growing after having met safety and security needs. Others prize level three, social needs, and having been accepted by certain important others, they atrophy. Still others press on to the fourth level and discover ways to gain ego strength, self-esteem and self-respect. The whole person, however, is the one who fulfills himself by growing in his relationship to God and through enlarging the scope of his concerns.

The Educational Task: Part of the educational task is to help people grow to self-fulfillment. Such growth calls, at a minimum, for self-insight, skills in inter-personal relations, the development of new awareness of self and others, the development of a hierarchy of values. Personal Growth Laboratories and similar training endeavors may be useful instruments for promoting such growth, but they will need to be supported by a wide variety of additional learning experiences, including ecumenics as an area of study. The aim will be to help persons find their identity as sons of God and their fulfillment in the "Witnessing Community."

THE INFLUENCE PROBLEMS

A priority concern of international affairs education is to help Christian people become skilled in influencing the makers of foreign policy. The influence problems cannot be dealt with successfully until people have (1) resolved the major inclusion concerns, (2) learned to perceive the complexities of international affairs and developed an understanding of the crucial issues, and (3) developed a set of values which promote a moral basis for judging international events. Attempts at influencing well-informed, highly articulate national leaders will fail unless those who do the influencing are sophisticated in their understandings of the issues.

The question being asked is, "How do I get involved in the world, especially at the point of influencing the directions of U.S.A. foreign policy?" The same question, phrased in theological language, asks, "In what ways do we articulate the Christian faith so that our witness brings about change in the styles of international behavior?"

Table 1 suggests at least two major influence problems: (1) apathy, flight, withdrawal with accompanying dependency, and (2) emotional release, hostility, counter-dependency.

Apathy, Flight, Withdrawal, Dependency

Church members, instead of being capable of taking an active role in seeking solutions to the perplexing and crucial social problems of our day, tend to react with apathy, flight, withdrawal, and dependency.

Many of the reasons for the widespread apathy among church members can be explained as unresolved inclusion factors, unresolved perception factors, and unresolved values factors. If people are ethnocentric, prejudiced, distrustful of others, and parochial in their world-view, world problems will be perceived as threatening and hopeless.

If crucial international issues are perceived as complex, requiring much time and effort to gain understanding, and if people lack analytical skills in world affairs, then many will respond warmly when the President, the Secretary of State, or other national leader says in one way or another, "These matters are too complex for anyone but experts with access to secret information. Trust us! We'll take care of you." Dependency results.

If people have atrophied in their personal development, and are uncritically attached to cultural norms, and have never related Christian ethical teachings to social issues, then they will tend to see problems in other areas of life as more urgent.

Finally, if people do not possess any ability in solving international issues in the practical sense, and do not see that there is any way in which they can make a contribution to the search for solutions, and if they feel that there is no way at all in which they can do anything significant, even in a small way, to help bring justice and peace to the world, and if they believe that there is no way in which they can express themselves politically with any effect, they will feel helpless. Apathy results.

The Educational Task: The major educational task not only means resolving the inclusion, perception, and values problems, but also means discovering ways of involving people in the kinds of activities that lead to resolving international issues.

The churches are the agencies in the modern world with the experience and message which should bring a note of hope to an otherwise grim situation. The problems of the world are vast, but not so vast that they cannot be alleviated to some extent by people in humble places with modest abilities and power. The churches, which have responded again and again for centuries to human need and suffering, and which have established programs of all sorts for alleviating such suffering, surely can offer to their people specific ways in which each person can do something on behalf of justice and peace. The educational task will include helping people to develop workable programs ranging all the way from hospitality for overseas guests to contributions to Church World Service, from study about crucial issues to political involvement at the precinct level, from writing a letter to a senator to running for the Senate.

Emotional Release, Hostility, Counter-dependency

Instead of church members with sufficient skill to make their convictions count in places of political decision-making, we find church members content to pass resolutions and indulge in other emotion-releasing but politically non-productive behavior.

Many church people are quite involved in the crucial issues of this revolutionary world. They are not apathetic. They are not asking, "What can one person do?" They have been active, often for several years, in entertaining overseas guests, in giving to Church World Service, in studying about international problems, and in writing letters to Congress. The issue with these people is, "What can I do in a direct way to influence current U.S.A. foreign policy?" They have grown tired of the kind of generalized activities that promote better communities and friendships. They want to stop the war in Vietnam, or change the trade and aid programs of the nation, or stop the bank loans to South Africa, or stop the development of an anti-ballistic missile system, or ban nuclear weapons. A sense of urgency is upon them due to the crucial nature of so many current problems. They cannot wait for people all over the world to become inclusive, to resolve perception problems, or develop more adequate values. They must change the behavior of nations, especially the behavior of the United States.

All other efforts have not changed policies. Thus a feeling of helplessness grips these persons. There seems to be nothing left to do but take to the streets in various forms of public demonstrations, or, on a somewhat more mild level, pass a resolution and consider the job done. Some have gone so far as to commit suicide in protest against the Vietnam War.

Unfortunately, many street demonstrations have become counterproductive and their major impact on policy-makers is to make them more resistant to change. Resolutions help people feel better about the world but they seldom bring about changes in policy.

The Educational Task: Much experimentation and research is needed to develop a workable strategy which will enable Christian people to bring about change in national policies. Such a strategy should include at least the following concerns:

--Discovering points of influence in government, business, education, labor and other corporate bodies.

--Discovering ways to reach and work with and through church people who are presently active in political affairs at the precinct level.

--Discovering ways to work ecumenically at the local community level for social and political change.

--Discovering ways of using mass media to promote a better-informed, more politically responsive public opinion.

--Discovering ways of developing pressure groups, perhaps college and seminary students, specialists in foreign affairs, and others, who could apply judicious pressure on churches and other groups at the local and state level to promote a more adequate witness in the political arena.

--Discovering ways of making more use by the churches of specialists in international and political affairs.

IMPLICATIONS

International affairs education cannot be seen as a minor, extraneous content ingredient in a broader curriculum, but rather as being integrally involved in the development of whole persons who can take an active role as Christians in the affairs of the world. Obviously present educational efforts in the churches are failing to help persons (1) become more open and empathic to other people and cultures, (2) develop ordering and analytical skills for making judgments about crucial international issues (3) in light of the ethical implications of the Gospel, and (4) express their concerns through effective political and social involvement.

This is no time for the churches to continue doing what they have been doing in Christian education but attempt merely to do it better. Rather, in this time of world-wide upheaval, enormous social and technological change, and terrifying danger, the churches must embark on a search for new ways, new styles, new processes, for doing their educational work.

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NOTES

1. See Jack Gibb, "Climate for Trust Formation," in Bradford, Gibb and Benne, T-Group Theory and Laboratory Method, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964, pps. 291-292. The writer is greatly indebted to Gibb's work. This paper is based to a great extent on Gibb's trust formation model.

2. Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice. New York: Doubleday, 1958, p. 10.

3. T. W. Adorno; Else Frenkel-Brunswik; D. J. Levinson; and R. N. Sanford; The Authoritarian Personality. New York: Harper, 1950, p. 150.

4. Bernhard E. Olson, Faith and Prejudice. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963, p. 3.

5. Gordon W. Allport, "The Religious Context of Prejudice," in Information Service, Department of Research, National Council of Churches, vol. XLVI, no. 8, April 22, 1967, p. 1.

6. Merton P. Strommen, "Religious Education and the Problem of Prejudice," in Religious Education, vol. LXII, 1967, p. 53.

7. Quoted from Dr. Jerome Lauchlicht, New York sociologist, who recently completed a study for the Canadian Peace Research Institute of Canadian attitudes. Lauchlicht goes on to say that regular churchgoers were more likely than reluctant or non-churchgoers to favor nuclear weapons, less likely to worry about the spread of these weapons, more hostile to any talk of negotiation, peace discussions, or inter-action between cold-war opponents, less fearful of the results of the arms race, and more deterrent-minded. In Pierre Berton, *The Comfortable Pew*. New York: Lippincott, 1965, p. 71.

See also:

Gordon W. Allport, "Religion and Prejudice," *Crane Review*, 1959, 2, 1-10.

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Merton P. Strommen, *Profiles of Church Youth*. St. Louis, Concordia, 1963.

8. Merton P. Strommen, "Religious Education and the Problem of Prejudice," in *Religious Education*, vol. LXII, 1967, p. 54.

9. Irving L. Janis, and M. Brewster Smith, "Effects of Education and Persuasion on National and International Images," in Herbert C. Kelman, *International Behavior*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965, pps. 204ff. For a fuller discussion, see M.B. Smith; J. S. Brunner; and R. W. White, *Opinions and Personality*. New York: Wiley, 1956.

10. Henry Cohen, "Prejudice Reduction in Religious Education," in *Religious Education*, vol. LIX, no. 5, 1964, pps. 386-391.

11. Gunnar Myrdal, quoted in Otto Klineberg, *The Human Dimension in International Relations*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966, p. 54.

12. See Wallace E. Lambert and Otto Klineberg, *Children's Views of Foreign Peoples*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967, p. 33.

13. Howard A. Reed, "Intercultural or Non-Western Studies in General Education," Chapter VII in James G. Rice, ed., *General Education: Current Ideas and Concerns*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1964.

14. Alfred O. Hero, Jr. is Executive Secretary, The World Peace Foundation, Boston. His summary is derived from a study of attitudes of religious groups in America as revealed by national surveys of representative samples of the adult population since the mid-thirties, to be published in book form. The above information is from "American Protestants and World Affairs," in International Issues, Department of International Affairs, National Council of Churches, vol. 1, no. 16, December 8, 1967.

15. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, pp. 407-408.

16. Janis and Smith, "Effects of Education," p. 215.

17. Klineberg, Human Dimension, pp. 90ff.

18. Hadley Cantril, "Perception and Interpersonal Relations," American Journal of Psychiatry, 1957, 114, pps. 119-126.

19. Jerome Frank, "Breaking the Thought Barrier," Psychiatry, 1960, 23, pps. 245-266.

20. Klineberg, Human Dimension, pp. 85ff.

21. "Christian Witness in International Affairs," pp. 1-4.

22. D. Katz, quoted in Janis and Smith, "Effects of Education," p. 206.

23. See Foreign Policy Association, The Most Dangerous Game, New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1967.

24. James M. Becker, "Teaching World Affairs Tomorrow," in Intercom, vol. 9, no. 5, September-October, 1967, pp. 26-88.

25. Jerome Frank, "How Nations See Each Other," in War/Peace Report, June-July, 1966.

26. Daniel Katz, "Nationalism and Strategies of International Conflict Resolution," in Kelman, International Behavior, p. 366.

27. C. E. Osgood, quoted in Klineberg, Human Dimension, p. 96.

28. J. Brooke Mosley, Christians in The Technical and Social Revolutions of Our Time. Cincinnati: Forward Movement Publications, 1966, pp. 61-79.

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SECTION THREE

EDUCATIONAL DESIGNS

This section contains twenty-one independent educational designs which can be used, in conjunction with the Workbook, as they appear here.

Two other designs in this section, "Starpower" and "Powerplay," are described in some detail, though the materials for them are not included in this Resource Manual. They are both very highly recommended.

The total of twenty-three exercises are organized in this manner:

1. PERCEPTION EXERCISES

   "What Do I Hear? What Am I Saying?"
   "What Do I See?"

2. STEREOTYPES

   "More Than Meets the Eye"
   "Spaceship Survival"

3. COOPERATION/COMMUNICATION

   "One-Way and Two-Way Communication"
   "Broken Squares"

4. TAKING A STAND/POINT OF VIEW

   "What's in a Dot?"
   "Time Capsule"
   "Call Them as You See Them"

5. CRITICAL SENSE

   "Why Underdevelopment?"
   "Charity/Justice"
   "Letter to Pepe"
   "On Trial: An American War"
   "Every Man My Brother?"
   "First Things First"

6. WORLD REALITIES

   "The Global Village"
   "The Coffee Game"
   "The Money Game"
   "The War Game"

7. POWER/POWERLESSNESS

"Haves and Have-nots"
"Serfdom"
"Starpower"
"Powerplay"

AGE LEVELS

All the educational designs in this Resource Manual are intended to be used on the secondary school level, especially senior high. Some--particularly those on Perception, Stereotypes, Cooperation/Communication-- are suitable for use on junior high school and even primary school levels. The extended simulations, such as "The Coffee Game" and "Starpower," as well as some of the other designs, can be used very effectively with adults.

LENGTH OF ACTIVITIES

Though some may demand preparation time, all of the exercises in this section can be actually played in a one-hour period of time, with these exceptions:

one to two hours: "First Things First," "The War Game," and "Haves and Have-nots."

two or more hours: "The Coffee Game," "The Money Game," "Serfdom," "Starpower," and "Powerplay."

GROUP SIZE AND ROOM SETTING

Unless it is otherwise noted in the actual design the group size is presumed to be from ten to twenty participants and the room setting is one that allows for freedom of movement.

MATERIALS

The educational designs in this Resource Manual are meant to be used along with copies of the Workbook. Exercises will flow more freely and you will save yourself the trouble of copying materials if each participant has a Workbook.

A reminder: Plan your course of studies far enough in advance so that you can have all the necessary materials (films especially) on hand at the proper time.

A suggestion: Rather than standing up in front of the group with a looseleaf folder full of secret plans and "gimmicks" choose only the particular exercise for each session and insert it into a copy of the Workbook which you can use along with the rest of the participants.

TITLE: WHAT DO I HEAR? WHAT AM I SAYING?

OBJECTIVE: To enable the participants to state their viewpoints on controversial subjects and to experience what is involved in appreciating another's point of view on those same subjects. These exercises surface the dynamics of prejudice, biases, perception, preconditioning, and stereotyping.

LENGTH OF ACTIVITY: One hour.

MATERIALS: Chalkboard/newsprint and supplies.

PROCEDURE: Exercise #1

Have the participants pair off and discuss some statement that will be controversial for them, such as amnesty, busing, drugs, or some local issue. Choose an issue that can have participants speaking for and against it.

If the participants are using the Workbook, choose from the questions on pp. 2-3 and have them pair off with someone who expressed an opposing point of view.

Ask the participants to discuss the issue in this manner: After one partner (A) expresses an opinion either pro or con, the other partner (B) must restate the sense of that opinion to partner A's satisfaction. The purpose, of course, is to demonstrate that partner B was listening and understood what A was trying to communicate.

Next partner B states an opinion on the issue, A restates the sense of that opinion, and they continue discussing the issue in this manner.

(The participants may be divided into triads; the third person being assigned the job of monitor and observer.)

Exercise #2

Two extreme statements are expressed by two previously prepared participants on any controversial subject, such as the draft, legalizing marijuana, the space program. The other participants choose which side of the argument they feel more closely aligned with. For effect, those representing the two opposing viewpoints can be divided into two corners of the room.

A number of such controversial statements are made and the participants either stay where they are or shift over to the other side according to their beliefs. Thus, the participant may agree with #1 when she states that "The space program is a tragic waste of our money--money that could better be spent here at home;" but when the next statement is made he

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A number of such controversial statements are made and the participants either stay where they are or shift over to the other side according to their beliefs. Thus, the participant may agree with #1 when she states that "The space program is a tragic waste of our money--money that could better be spent here at home;" but when the next statement is made he could leave the side of #1 and cross over to #2 because #2 says: "Our country will become too militarized if we have just an all-volunteer army."

If the participants are using the Workbook this exercise will run more smoothly if you have the participants take their stands on each question in this manner: If the individual checked off numbers 1 to 5 on the continuum he would be on one side; numbers 6 to 10 would be the opposing side.

After running through a number of these statements, demonstrating the diversity of opinion in the room, choose one of the statements that split the group evenly. The participants are asked, once again, to take a position on that topic.

They are then asked to do two things while in their respective groups:

1. discuss and list the reasons they as a group have for their point of view;

2. discuss and list the reasons why they think the other group has taken the position it has.

When this has been done both groups post the results for all to see. A discussion follows on how well the groups did at understanding the "other point of view." "Did we feel that we were understood by the other group?" "Was it difficult to understand why the other group took the stand that it did?" "What feelings did we have about the other group when they expressed why they thought we took the position we did?"

Questions such as these can bring out the dangers (fear, hostility, misunderstandings) that spring (1) from not communicating with those who hold different points of view or who value things differently than we do, and (2) from not being willing or able to put aside our own personal feelings and judgments in order to see something as others see it.

PROCESSING THE EXERCISE: Some discussion time after both of these exercises will undoubtedly be spent on the content. With this in mind you might choose a controversial topic that will fit in with the overall course of study, such as foreign aid, violent social change, the blockade of Cuba, etc.

The primary focus of these exercises, however, is on the method and not the content. How did participants feel about seeing something from another's point of view? How did they react when they had to restate an opinion that they were opposed to?

The method used in these two exercises is the model for a study of the People's Republic of China in the China Pac (New York: Orbis Books/ Friendship Press, 1971). The exercises introduce the subject by stressing that, though we may not at all agree with the Maoist vision for the Chinese and their society, we should at least make the effort to understand what they say about themselves and how they explain what they are trying to do. On the pattern of Exercise #1 above, the participants are invited to involve themselves to the point that they could repeat back--to the satisfaction of the Chinese--what the Chinese say and believe about themselves.

Sections from the "Leader's Guide" to the China Pac are included here as illustrations of how simple designs such as the above can be used to introduce a topic as broad and as complicated as that of China.

CHINA PAC - "LEADER'S GUIDE"

SESSION ON OLD CHINA

The participants review the events and learnings of the previous Sessions. The leader stresses that now the group is going to set aside their own perceptions, biases, and judgments and attempt to see the Chinese as they see themselves. First, the group will concentrate on China prior to October 1, 1949, and later it will study China since that date when the Communist government of Mao Tse-tung was installed.

Shanghai Rickshaw Pullers and Hunan Farmers

The participants are divided into two groups--one to study imperialism, one to study feudalism. Those studying imperialism try to put themselves in the position of Shanghai rickshaw pullers in pre-revolutionary times; those studying feudalism try to put themselves in the role of Hunan farmers. If necessary, the meaning of "imperialism" and "feudalism" can be discussed.

The participants study the readings prepared on their topics (included in the "Student Edition" of the China Pac). They are asked to consider in their groups the feelings and reactions that they would have had in pre-revolutionary China. They are told that at the end of the study session they will role-play Chinese explaining to outsiders what it was like in pre-revolutionary China.

The participants reassemble into groups made up of both Shanghai rickshaw pullers and Hunan farmers. They explain to each other what it was like to live either in the country or in Shanghai in the Old China dominated by feudalism and imperialism. The leader might role-play a Westerner trying to understand what it was like in pre-revolutionary China. These questions might be asked:

"Why was there so much bloodshed when the peasants took over the land from the landlords?"

"Why were you so upset at the foreigners in Shanghai? At least with them you had jobs!"

SESSION ON THE NEW CHINA

In this session the goal is to appreciate the new, post-1949 China from the Chinese point of view. Here the group focuses on Chinese attempts to create a new society living by the motto "Serve the People."

Revolutionary Drama Troupes

In order to understand what "Serve the People" means to the Chinese today the group considers four different aspects of Chinese life in light of that theme. Participants are divided into four study groups with readings on one of these topics: Learning (education), People's Power (democracy), the People's Army, and Communes (all included in the "Student Edition" of the China Pac). They are asked to study the topic that their group has chosen, to discuss the difference between the old (pre-1949) and new (post-1949) China in terms of this topic, and then to act out those differences in a short drama.

In presenting the drama they are asked to imagine themselves as a traveling drama troupe appearing in a rural village (represented by the rest of the group). Their task is to illustrate for the villagers--by means of a da-tse-bao (a large wall-poster with a short saying), quotations from Chairman Mao, and the principle of "struggle-criticism-transformation" --what "Serve the People" means in the light of the topic that their group has chosen.

If time allows, the groups can present other dramas on different topics (such as health care, care of the aged, factory management, etc.).

After all the dramas are presented, there is a general wrap-up of the previous sessions. Here the participants have a chance to air their feelings:

"What do you think of all of this?"

"Do you feel that you're being brainwashed when you try to see China from the Chinese point of view?"

"Were you really able to get into the skins of the Chinese and understand things from their point of view?"

"How does what you have seen fit in with your original perceptions of China?"

TITLE: WHAT DO I SEE?

OBJECTIVE: To dramatize the effects of pre-conditioning on how the participants see reality.

LENGTH OF ACTIVITY: 45 minutes.

MATERIALS: Pictures of the old and young woman and a composite picture or slide of the "two" women.

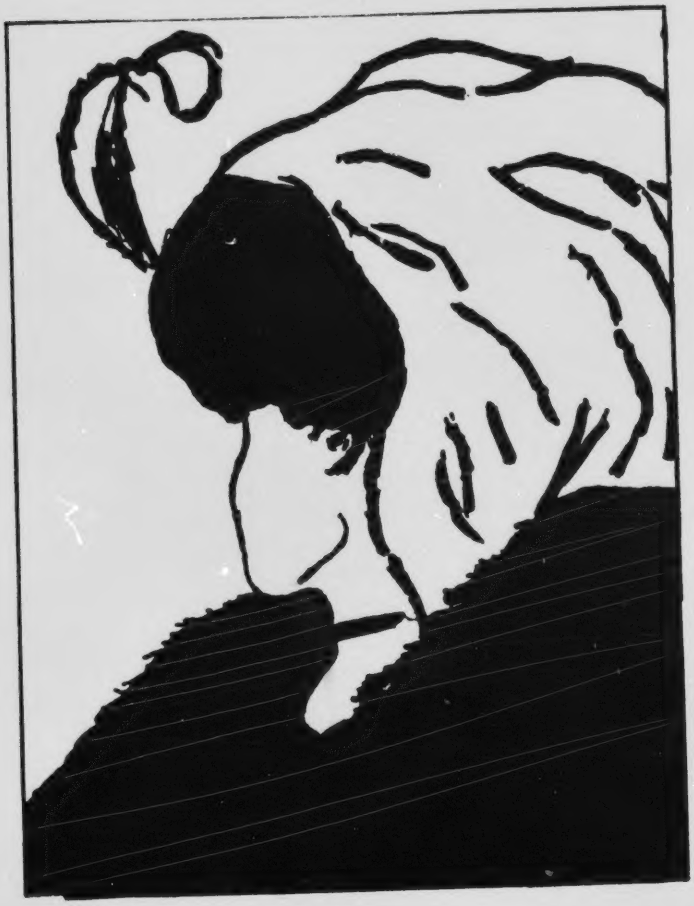
PROCEDURE: Divide the participants into two groups--in separate rooms, if possible. Show one group picture A (the old woman) and the other group picture B (the young woman). If the groups are out of earshot of one another, you can reinforce the pre-conditioning by stressing the age of the woman as you hand out the picture. "I would like you to look at this picture of a young (or old) woman and memorize as much as you can about it. Your memory will be tested when we reassemble in the larger group." When all have had an opportunity to see the picture, collect them, and bring the two groups back together.

When the two groups are together again show them the composite picture of the "two" women (A-B). Ask individuals to describe what they see. When it becomes apparent to the group that some see an old woman in the picture and others see a young woman, ask for a show of hands. "How many see an old woman in the picture? How many see a young woman?" Turn the composite picture away and ask those who see the old woman to explain to the others what they see in the picture. Do the same with those who see the young woman. Show them the composite picture for short periods of time until all see the "two" women.

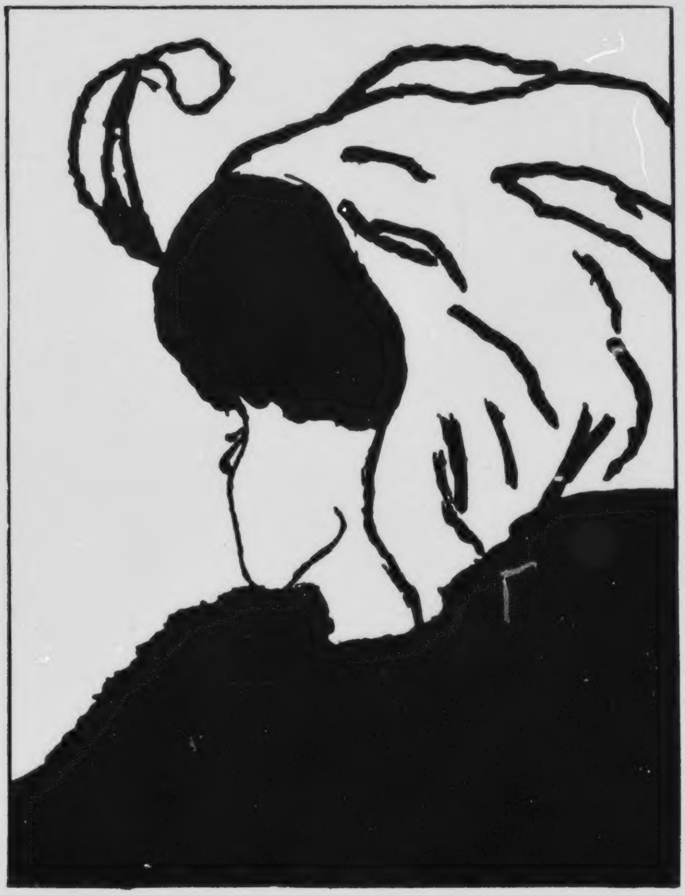
When some begin to see the "two" women, ask them to help the rest of the group perceive what they see. Instruct them to do this verbally, without pointing to the actual features in the picture. Let the exercise run until everyone sees the "two" women.

PROCESSING THE EXERCISE: After all have seen the "two" women, you can discuss the dynamics of the exercise and draw some learnings from it: how perceptions vary with pre-conditioning; the ways in which we are pre-conditioned to see reality in certain ways; the feelings individual participants had about others who held opposite and incomprehensible points of view.

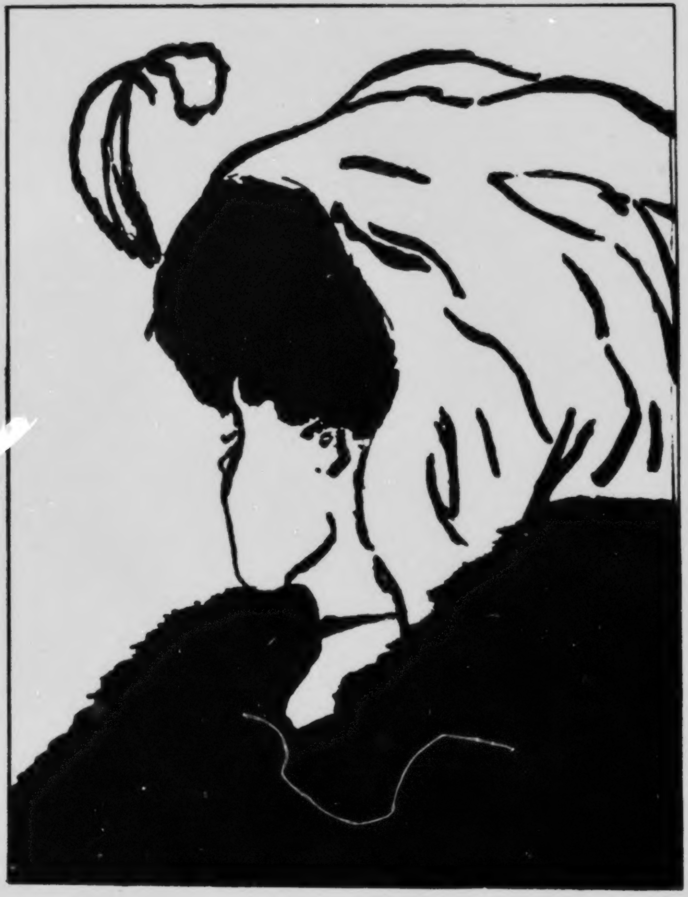
Discuss the learnings from the exercise in light of the way in which individuals responded to the exercises on pages 4 and 5 of the Workbook.



PICTURE A



PICTURE B



PICTURE A-B

Again, selections from the China Pac are included here to illustrate how an exercise such as the above can be developed.

CHINA PAC - LEADER'S GUIDE

SESSION ON PRECONCEPTIONS OF CHINA

The goal of this session is to get at the group's preconceptions of China. The leader explains that China has been chosen as the topic of this unit so that we can practice looking at things from the point of view of others. The leader stresses that in this session, however, the participants should be concerned with their preconceptions of China and the Chinese people, and as such, they are not to be preoccupied with whether these perceptions are "right" or "wrong" or with what the Chinese preconceptions are of them.

Images of China

Participants are asked to give a word or phrase which expresses their perceptions of China, the Chinese people, communism, etc. These can be recorded for future reference (on chalkboard or newsprint) on one side of the Chinese yin-yang symbol (see illustration). The other half of the yin-yang symbol is completed in a later session.

After enough perceptions have been gathered, the leader, referring to earlier exercises on perceptions (e.g., "What Do I Hear? What Am I Saying?"), biases, etc., points out that the perceptions that have been listed are necessarily just one side of the picture; the other is how the Chinese would describe themselves (or even, how the Chinese would describe us).

SESSION ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

China from the Chinese Point of View

Having role-played the Chinese, the group now should have something of an appreciation of what it was like to live in China before 1949, and of what it is like to live now in the new China. The leader invites the participants to give words or phrases that they think the Chinese would use to describe themselves. These are recorded on the opposite side of the yin-yang symbol for purposes of comparison and discussion.

A discussion of the "whole picture" (the completed yin-yang symbol) is held, comparing the group's ideas now with their original preconceptions. "What are the differences?" "Which are questions of fact? Opinion?" "Indications of prejudice?" "Where is there agreement between how we see the Chinese and how they see themselves?"

The United States from the Chinese Point of View

As an exercise to test how well the participants have gotten "into the skin of the Chinese" they are asked to reverse the exercise of the Session in which they listed their perceptions of the Chinese. Now they are asked to look at the United States and its citizens from the Chinese point of view: How would they see us? What differences about us would strike them? What similarities? When these observations have been recorded they are discussed and tested as was done above.

Note: The figure of the two women in this exercise was first used for psychological purposes by E. G. Boring, "A new ambiguous figure," *American Journal of Psychology*, 1930, p. 444. It was originally drawn by W. E. Hill, *Puck*, Nov. 6, 1905.

TITLE: MORE THAN MEETS THE EYE

OBJECTIVE: To demonstrate that our attitudes toward other groups are often determined by our own cultural standards.

LENGTH OF ACTIVITY: 35-45 minutes.

MATERIALS: None.

PROCEDURE:

Part I

In each of the examples below you will either read about or have participants role play a cultural event. You can ask them to read the selections from Parts I and II on page 8 of the Workbook. Participants will try to imagine how that event will turn out. They will then be told the "secret" of the example and asked again what will happen.

If you would like selected participants to role play these examples you should let them know the "secret" before they begin. The role play should proceed to the point where the question appears: What will happen next? The group should be invited to guess and even suggest to the players what should happen next. After a short period of discussion the players continue the role play according to the directions (the "secret") given to them. After the role play the group is invited to question the players as to why they continued in the way they did. The group is then told the "secret" of the example.

(It is best to play through both of these examples before letting the group know that there is a "secret" involved.)

Example #1: Some boys are playing together. One boy says that they should have a race. Another boy, who is smaller than the rest, states that he does not want to run in the race. He starts to walk slowly away from the others, but he is stopped by the boy who suggested that they have the race. What will happen next?

Example #2: A handsome young man works in a place where he sees a beautiful young lady almost every day. He is strong, healthy, and intelligent. He does not have a wife. He would like to marry and have a family. The young lady is graceful, well-mannered, and charming. She too is unmarried. What will happen next?

As the participants respond to the question "what will happen next?," record their answers on the board. Summarize their responses to both examples and then let them in on the "secret" to each example:

Example #1 - the boys in the story are Navajo Indians who frown on competition.

Example #2 - the man and woman in the story are of two different castes and are not permitted to marry.

Discuss these "secrets" and the bearing they have on the events described.

Part II

Read the following to the participants:

The focal point of the shrine is a box which is built into the wall. In this box are kept the many charms and magical potions without which no native believes he could live. The charm is not disposed of after it has served its purposes, but is placed in the charm-box of the household shrine. The magical packets are so numerous that the natives forget what their purposes were and often fear to use them again. While the natives are very vague on this point, we can only assume that the idea in retaining all the old magical materials is that their presence in the charm-box will in some way protect the worshiper.

Discuss with the group these questions:

a. Do you approve or disapprove of the customs of the natives?
b. Do their practices make sense to you?
c. Have you heard of any other groups which follow similar practices?

When these questions have been discussed sufficiently, suggest to the group that the description above might well be an anthropological study of the medicine chest in present-day U.S. culture. Invite comments on the description from that point of view.

Part III

Following on Part II, ask the group to "explain" each one of these practices, customs, or beliefs, by placing them in their own cultural milieu:

a. A person's purchase of a new car every year, even thought the last car still runs perfectly.
b. An Aztec (Mayan or Tuscan) ceremony involving human sacrifice.
c. The Egyptian practice of burying food, weapons, jewels with the dead warrior.
d. African tribal customs of scarification (or pierced ears in our own culture).
e. Animal cemeteries in the United States.

The group could be asked to supply examples of their own--perhaps ones that would have more social import, such as elderly people dying alone in U.S. nursing homes. Can this be explained? How?

PROCESSING THE EXERCISE: The participants should be helped to articulate the values they possess which are determined by the culture in which they live. Does this help them to see that the "values" of others can also be so culturally conditioned? What are some other examples?

TITLE: SPACESHIP SURVIVAL

OBJECTIVE:To offer the participants an opportunity to examine their attitudes toward other peoples.

LENGTH OF ACTIVITY: 90 minutes.

MATERIALS: None, if participants have copies of the Workbook; if they do not have copies, one passout sheet for each participant.

PROCEDURE:

Option #1

Pass out a copy of the Instruction sheet (see below) to each one of the participants, or ask them to turn to page 11 in their Workbook. Ask them to follow the steps indicated.

Option #2

Allow the participants to make up their own lists of people, nationalities, occupations, age, sex, etc. Then instruct them to follow the directions as in Option #1.

After each participant has completed the list, divide the participants into groups of five. Each of these groups is now the crew of a spaceship.

Working from the individual lists of the crew members, each group must come to an agreement on the ten people they will save. They have 15 minutes in which to make this decision.

Each spaceship crew selects someone from the group to post and explain its ten choices at the end of the 15-minute period.

PROCESSING THE EXERCISE: After all the crew reports have been given, the participants analyze the choices and some of the consequences of those choices. Some areas to be explored are:

1. Were these people chosen because they fulfilled the needs of the human race or the personal desires of the crew members?

2. Which choices were easiest to agree on (nationalities, occupations? On which selections was there the most disagreement?

3. Which nationalities or occupations were not chosen? Why?

4. What attitudes, stereotypes, or biases surfaced during the exercise?

5. Imagine that you were a different nationality (Korean or Tanzanian, for example). What changes do you think you would make in your choices?

6. Was there any consideration of "saving" cultural qualities in the world?

SPACESHIP SURVIVAL INSTRUCTION SHEET

A spaceship is traveling around the world and it is seen that the earth is going to be destroyed in one hour. Within that time it is possible for the ship to land ten times to rescue ten people. Your onboard computer has determined that you can find these ten people anywhere in the world. You are a crew member of the spaceship and you must decide in ten minutes which ten people you will pick up. Use the following method in making your selections:

Section A lists 22 nationalities and Section B lists 20 professions. Choose a nationality name and write it in front of the person you would want to save, e.g., Filipino worker. You may use the same nationality as often as you wish, but you must choose ten different people according to their professions.

SECTION A:

Japanese
Nigerian
Canadian
French
Peruvian
Russian
Brazilian
Korean
South African
American (U.S.)
Indian
Australian
Italian
Jewish
Pakistani
Filipino
English
Mainland Chinese
Arab
Indonesian
German
Vietnamese

SECTION B:

______________ mechanic
______________ teacher
______________ police officer
______________ cook
______________ farmer
______________ doctor
______________ comedienne
______________ worker
______________ minister
______________ housewife
______________ peasant
______________ nurse
______________ businessman
______________ financier
______________ soldier
______________ writer
______________ scientist
______________ scholar
______________ maid
______________ politician

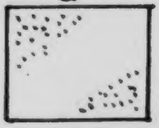
TITLE: WHAT'S IN A DOT?

OBJECTIVE: To help participants visualize the ways in which they see reality and articulate their hopes for the future.

LENGTH OF ACTIVITY: One Hour.

MATERIALS: Charts or a chalkboard with the following diagrams:

a



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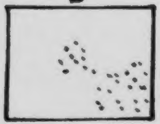

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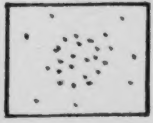

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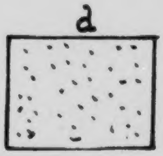

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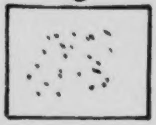

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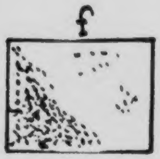


PROCEDURE: This exercise can be used to focus attention on a number of different realities--U.S. society, United States relationships with the rest of the world, social divisions within the Third World, or others.

Choose the reality you would care to focus the group's attention on and ask each of the participants to select the one diagram that is most expressive of that reality. Do not interpret the dots or the diagrams yourself. Let the participants see the dots however they would like.

When the group has had enough time, ask for volunteers to make their choices known to the group. Have them explain why they selected the one particular diagram and give a concrete illustration to support the choice. (For example, "I chose Diagram A because it is suggestive of polarization and that is descriptive of the state of racial relations here in the United States.")

You might ask if others selected the same diagram and then compare explanations and illustrations. As participants make known their choices you could keep a running record on the board. Which diagrams were not selected? Why not? Can any of the participants offer a diagram other than A to F that would be suggestive of the reality under consideration? Ask them to refer to the related assignment in the Workbook on page 15.

Having fully discussed the implications of the group's choices you could then turn to the future. Ask the participants to look again at the diagrams and choose one that best describes, for example, either

- how the United States will be in the year 2,000; or,
- how I would like the United States to be in 2,000. Your choice of either of the above will surface different data for the group's reflection. Continue with discussion questions as above.

TITLE: TIME CAPSULE

OBJECTIVE: To situate the participants in the flow of U.S. and world history; to encourage them to broaden their horizons and to observe how differently historical events can appear depending upon one's point of view.

LENGTH OF ACTIVITY: 45 minutes for Option #1; two separate 45 minute periods for the other options.

MATERIALS: Chalkboard and supplies:

- The film "American Time Capsule" (color, 3 min., rental $10; purchase: $60. Pyramid Films, Box 1048, Santa Monica, Ca. 90406
- Index cards (5x8)

PROCEDURE:

Option #1

Prepare a large chart listing the years 1960 to the present in a column on the lefthand side of the chalkboard. Challenge the group to list as many meaningful events that happened in each of those years as they can.

(If the group is particularly well-read, you might put them to the test by insisting that the events listed must have taken place outside of the United States.)

Option #2

Show the film "American Time Capsule" and ask for immediate reactions. ("What one word best describes what you just saw in the film? What events or frames in the film stand out most clearly in your mind? Why?")

Ask the participants to prepare on index cards a "Time Capsule" script for the historical span of their lives (begin with the year of birth of the oldest participant). They can do this individually or in small groups. It is best to allow them at least a few days to prepare the script.

In preparing the "Time Capsule" scripts they will be confined to thirty frames--one 5x8 index card representing each frame. Have them select the significant events of that period--determine how many frames to allot for each event--and then fill out the index cards with brief descriptions of the event or a phase of the event. These can be shown to the entire group and discussed.

If you have the time and if the group is creative enough, you might suggest that they prepare the script in sound and pictures--a collage of still photographs and clips from tapes and records.

Option #3

Divide the participants into working groups of five. Show them the film "American Time Capsule" and discuss as above. Select or invite them to select a period of history (the early twentieth century, for instance) and suggest that they prepare their own "Time Capsule" scripts for that particular period (as in Option #2).

In this option, however, have each group represent different nationalities and even different classes of people. So, one group would be Tanzanians, for example, preparing a "Time Capsule" of the twentieth century from their point of view. Another group could be Filipinos, Peruvians, etc. You might also choose a period of time such as the immigrant period here in the United States and ask one group to prepare a script for that period from the point of view of the rich (men like Morgan, Rockefeller, Carnegie, etc.) and ask other groups to do the same from the point of view of the Eastern European, Italian, Irish, and other immigrants.

Compare and discuss the "Time Capsule" scripts of each of the groups.

PROCESSING THE EXERCISE: In the discussion of Option #1, you might ask the participants why the events they listed were considered "meaningful"? For whom were they meaningful? Were the participants conscious of the fact that very meaningful events were happening in other parts of the world during that same period?

This design illustrates how unconscious we can often be of the flow of history around us and how narrowly we can interpret the meaningfulness of even the history we do see.

Options #2 and #3 offer the participants much more time for research and preparation. The thoughts of the preceding paragraph should be used to introduce these options and to lead into a discussion of the various "Time Capsule" scripts of the group.

Option #2: What one word would participants use to describe their own "Time Capsules"?

Option #3: The point should be stressed that historical events are different depending upon one's point of view. Ask the group to give you some examples of this from their scripts. What examples of this would they see in current events? If the participants completed the family time capsule assignment in their Workbook (see page 16) ask for their observations in the light of the total exercise.

TITLE: CALL THEM AS YOU SEE THEM

OBJECTIVE: To offer the group an opportunity to see the world from another's point of view.

LENGTH OF ACTIVITY: 45 minutes

MATERIALS: None, if participants have copies of the Workbook; if they do not, one Instruction Sheet for each participant.

PROCEDURE:

Option #1

Pass out a copy of the Instruction Sheet to each one of the participants, or have them turn to page 19 in the Workbook. Ask them to follow the steps indicated. (It would be helpful if they could read the Christopher booklet, Coffee: The Rules of the Game and You, before the exercise begins. Available from The Christophers, 12 E. 48 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10017, $2. per 100.)

Option #2

You might want to dramatize the disparity between the two groups by physically rearranging the room so that all but two or three of the participants are squeezed into one corner of the room. Stress that you are illustrating the conditions in most of the Third World countries where just a small minority controls most of the wealth and income, land, industry, political and military power. Let them get the feel of this situation for a while and then give them the passout sheet and have them select the adjectives according to the instructions.

Option #3

If the participants have already played some of the simulation games in this Resource Manual (e.g., "Starpower," "The Coffee Game," "Serfdom," etc.) you could introduce this exercise soon after one of them and have the participants check off adjectives to describe other groups in the simulation. For instance, how would the "triangles" describe the "squares" in "Starpower"?

Option #4

You might want to bring this exercise closer to home by contrasting the head of a major U.S. automobile company who receives an annual salary and bonuses of approximately $800,000 and a worker on the assembly line who couldn't hope to earn that much money in a lifetime of labor. Or, have the participants suggest their own contrasting individuals or groups.

PROCESSING THE EXERCISE: You will want to take a sampling of the adjectives checked off by the participants. Find out which words were checked off by a majority. Why? Which adjectives were not selected? Why not? Would the group want to add any adjectives that do not appear on the list?

As the participants offer their selections encourage them to understand the context that explains the various descriptions. Why does the plantation owner think the worker is childish or lazy? Why does the worker call the owner an exploiter?

Which words checked represent misconceptions and which are, in fact, true descriptions of the other? Is the worker lazy? Is the owner an exploiter? Can we ever hope to alter the negative descriptions without changing the context that gives rise to them?

It is important to distinguish between misconceptions and true descriptions. How would the participants go about determining whether or not the owner is an exploiter? Do the definitions of "exploitation" and "injustice" differ according to one's point of view? One can certainly understand differing points of view, but can one give equal support to two opposing points of view? If not, how do the participants decide which side to support? What would they do if they determined that the owner is, in fact, an exploiter?

INSTRUCTION SHEET

Below you will find a series of adjectives. Imagine that you are each one of these persons:

1. a coffee worker in El Salvador who works all day long in the hot sun to earn $1.44 and who will probably die of "old age" before he is 50;

2. a Salvadorian coffee plantation owner whose income for just two years is far greater than the total lifetime earnings of one of his coffee workers.

Step 1:

Go through the list of adjectives pretending that you are the plantation owner described above. Check off each adjective that you would use to describe one of your coffee workers. Place your checks on the lefthand side of the word. Add other adjectives to the ones listed below, if you'd like.

Step 2:

Go through the list of adjectives again and imagine that you are the coffee worker described above. Check off each adjective that you would use to describe the owner of the coffee plantation you work on. Place these checks on the righthand side of the word. Add other adjectives, if you'd like.

intelligent
shrewd
virtuous
leader
courteous
animal
greedy
bloodsucking
communist
kind
well-meaning

oppressive
exploited
honest
inhuman
winner
wise
criminal
pitiless
lucky
eager
misguided

humble
childish
unjust
creative
materialistic
stupid
honorable
exploiter
vain
paternalistic
respectful

deceptive
arrogant
vengeful
skillful
helpful
cunning
powerful
just
Christian
lazy
trustworthy

TITLE: WHY UNDERDEVELOPMENT?

OBJECTIVE: To practice critical analysis of the causes for a given social situation of underdevelopment. This exercise also offers the participants an opportunity to use some decision-by-consensus skills.

LENGTH OF ACTIVITY: One hour

MATERIALS: Chalkboard/newsprint and supplies;

- The film "Flavio" (12 min., b&w, rental $12.50 from Contemporary Films, Princeton Road, Hightstown, N.J. 08520), or the film "Land of the Brave" (8 min., color, free rental from the Campaign for Human Development, USCC, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005);
- A 16mm projector, screen, and supplies;
- If the participants do not have Workbooks, each one will need a listing of the causes of underdevelopment (see below);
- A group summary sheet for every six to twelve participants.

PREREQUISITE: Use of the "NASA Exercise," developed by Jay Hall of Teleometrics International, P.O. Box 1850, Conroe, Texas 77301, will give the participants some of the decision-by-consensus skills necessary for this exercise. The educational design "Why Underdevelopment?" is modeled on the work of Mr. Hall.

PROCEDURE: Introduce this exercise by saying that the group will be given an opportunity to do some critical thinking and to practice making decisions by consensus.

Show the film "Flavio" (or "Land of the Brave"). A Film Study of "Flavio" by Paul A. Schreivogel is available for 50 cents from Geo. A. Pflaum, Publisher, 38 W. Fifth Street, Dayton, Ohio 45402. A guide for the use of "Land of the Brave" is included with the film.

FLAVIO -- a review by Paul A. Schreivogel (reprinted with permission of the publisher).

FLAVIO speaks to us of the 10,000 children in the world who die each day of starvation, and of the millions more who suffer permanent brain damage, increased vulnerability to disease, and retarded growth because of inadequate diets. The tragic and tender story of young Flavio da Silva, a twelve-year-old inhabitant of the Rio de Janeiro slums, is a penetrating condemnation of human indifference to hunger and suffering. The narration by a boy of Flavio's age underlines the authenticity of this gripping portrayal.

The da Silva's live in a favela, a mountainside slum which is home for part of the 700,000 poor in that area. They are a beaten people. Jose and Nair, the parents, have prayers and hopes for their children, but there is no escape from the disease-ridden favela--no hope for improvement. Flavio, though 12, is hardly a child. He carries a burden of constant worry, his deepset eyes reflecting a frustration more often associated with old age homes. His problems are not just the physical surroundings. Gordon Parks (the writer, photographer, and director of "Flavio") pointed out in an article that "disease has touched Flavio. Wasted by bronchial asthma and malnutrition he is fighting another losing battle--against death."

After the film divide the participants into groups of six to twelve. Ask them to turn to page 23 in their Workbooks or give each a list of the following fifteen "causes of underdevelopment":

_____poor land and natural resources

_____lack of education

_____international trade policies and practices

_____feelings of apathy and hopelessness

_____exploitation and domination by others

_____the colonial past

_____the indifference of others

_____overpopulation

_____hunger

_____wealth and power concentrated in the hands of a few

_____dependency on other countries

_____no job opportunities

_____lack of personal initiative

_____capitalist economic structures

_____unrest caused by revolutionaries

Ask the participants to rank the causes of underdevelopment in order of their gravity for a country such as Brazil and for an individual like Flavio. Allow five to ten minutes.

When each individual has completed this task hand one Group Summary Sheet to each group (see below). Advise the groups that they have thirty minutes in which to reach a consensus on the relative importance of each of the fifteen items.

Stress that individuals are not to change any answers on their individual worksheets as a result of group discussion.

Have one member of the group record the results of the individual selections and of the group consensus on the group summary sheet.

If the participants do not know how to make decisions by consensus explain this to them.

Decision-making by consensus in this exercise means that the ranking of each one of the causes must be agreed upon--at least in part--by every member of the group. Naturally, not every item will meet with everyone's complete approval. But the participants must try, as groups, to make each ranking one with which all members of the group can at least partially agree.

Offer the groups these guides to use in reaching consensus:

- Avoid arguing for your own individual judgments.

- Avoid changing your mind only in order to reach agreement and avoid conflict. Support only solutions with which you are able to agree somewhat, at least.

- Avoid "conflict-reducing" techniques such as majority votes, averaging, or trading in reaching decisions.

- View differences of option as helpful rather than as a hindrance in decision-making.

When you feel that the techniques of decision-making by consensus are understood ask the groups to begin their tasks by recording the results of the individual selections on the group summary sheet. They will then have thirty minutes in which to complete the group consensus task.

When the groups have completed their tasks take a sampling of individual and group selections. Which items were ranked in the top three? Which items were the most difficult to place? Which caused the most disagreements within the groups? Which item was placed last?

PROCESSING THE EXERCISE: As the individuals and groups offer their selections encourage them to be very critical: Is Brazil really overpopulated? What is the colonial history of Brazil? Is Brazil lacking in natural resources?

Participants will probably be unable to support many of their "feelings" about the causes of underdevelopment if this exercise is used early in a course of studies. You will undoubtedly want to use the results of this exercise as springboards for research assignments and for further discussion.

Collect the group summary sheets at the end of the session because they will give you a good picture of the participants' critical and analytical skills with regard to underdevelopment.

You might also ask the participants to compare the process of individual decision-making with that of decision-making-by-consensus. What are the advantages of "seeking consensus" as opposed to one-man rule or voting? What are the disadvantages?

You might encourage the participants to research cultures (such as farmers in the Philippines) where decision-making-by-consensus is the normal course of action. Have some in the group read the pamphlet "Hospitals in China" by English surgeon Joshua Horn (available for 10¢ from the New England Free Press, 791 Tremont St., Boston, MA. 02118) and discuss the parallels between the process of decision-making in China's hospitals and the decision-making dynamics in this exercise.

As an alternative to the use of "Flavio" you could use the Campaign for Human Development's film "Land of the Brave" which depicts the face and voice of the poor in the United States today. The Campaign's 53-page booklet Poverty Profile: An In-depth Study of Poverty in America is an excellent resource for the processing of this exercise. The booklet is available for $1 from the Campaign for Human Development, U.S. Catholic Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

GROUP SUMMARY SHEET

	(INDIVIDUAL RANKINGS)												
GROUP MEMBERS:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	(GROUP RANKINGS)
POOR LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCES													
LACK OF EDUCATION													
INTERNATIONAL TRADE PRACTICES													
FEELINGS OF APATHY AND HOPELESSNESS													
EXPLOITATION AND DOMINATION													
THE COLONIAL PAST													
THE INDIFFERENCE OF OTHERS													
OVERPOPULATION													
HUNGER													
CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH AND POWER													
DEPENDENCY ON OTHER COUNTRIES													
NO JOB OPPORTUNITIES													
LACK OF PERSONAL INITIATIVE													
CAPITALIST ECONOMIC STRUCTURES													
UNREST CAUSED BY REVOLUTIONARIES													

Why Underdevelopment?

TITLE: CHARITY/JUSTICE

This exercise is Module #7 from Justice in the World: A Primer for Teachers prepared by the Division for Justice and Peace-USCC, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Entire packet is 50¢. Reprinted with permission.

TEACHER OVERVIEW

Although charity may be the first characteristic that comes to mind to describe the Church's social involvement, justice is the dominant theme of the Church's social teaching. The Roman Synod says that the Church has the right and the duty "to proclaim justice on the social, national and international level, and to denounce instances of injustice."

Barbara Ward in her commentary on Pope Paul's encyclical The Development of Peoples notes that "charity for all of its immediacy and effectiveness remains an arbitrary factor. The rich man may give. Again, he may not. He expects, even if only subconsciously, suitable gratitude."

The Development of Peoples, without denigrating charity, clearly concentrates on the obligation to pursue justice, even elaborating the structural mechanisms that should be changed to effect more just relations between persons and nations.

This module is designed to focus on the Christian response in justice to global needs.

OBJECTIVES:

1. To contrast characteristics of charity and justice (Backgrounder).

2. To highlight the arbitrary dimension of present U.S. response to global needs (Pre-Test).

3. To suggest models for action in justice ("The Rent Strike Model" and the "Mexico Model").

TEACHER ACTIVITY:

1. Take Pre-Test and consider the biases reflected in the pattern of your answers.

2. Read Backgrounder.

a) List current situations in U.S. calling for a charitable response.

b) Make a similar list of those calling for a response in justice.

c) Prepare a similar set of lists using current global situations.

3. Assemble materials from various agencies involved in overseas activities. Study them to determine whether charity or justice dominates the thrust of their activities and appeal. For example,

ACTION (merger of VISTA and the Peace Corps), 806 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 22525.

American Freedom from Hunger Foundation, 1717 H St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Catholic Relief Services, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York City 10001.

Latin America Bureau, 1430 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

League of Red Cross Societies, 1211 Geneva 19, Switzerland.

United Nations Development Programme, United Nations, New York 10017.

U.S. Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C. 20523.

World Bank, 1818 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20433.

World Council of Churches Fund To Combat Racism, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City 10027.

4. Study "The Rent Strike Model" and "The Mexico Model" in the context of the "Educating to Justice" section of the Synod document Justice in the World (see above pp. 53-55).

5. Play the simulation games "The Coffee Game" and "Guns or Butter." See bibliography.

Pope Paul in A Call to Action makes the statement that "in the social and economic field, both national and international, the ultimate decision rests with political power." Integrate the implications of this statement and the dynamics of the games in preparation for class discussion following the game playing.

PRE-TEST:

1. More than $22 billion worth of American food surpluses has been provided to the less developed countries (LDC's). Of this amount what percentage has been given to them without charge?

a. less than 25%   b. about 50%   c. all of it

2. Of the following programs, which phase has had the greatest increase in funding by U.S. aid in recent years?

a. Population control   b. Peace Corps   c. Contributions to United Nations' Agencies

3. U.S. aid programs in 1971 spent about $260 million directly in foreign countries. That same year the poor countries paid back to the U.S. on past loans

a. nothing   b. about $100 million   c. more than $300 million

4. Compared to other aid-giving nations, the terms (interest rates and time for repayment) of U.S. government loans to the LDC's are becoming

a. tougher   b. easier

5. Of the total Federal Budget, about how much of each $1 is spent for economic aid to the LDC's?

a. less than 2¢   b. about 50¢   c. more than 50¢

6. Out of each dollar America provides the poor nations for the purchase of goods, how much money actually leaves the U.S.?

a. less than 1¢   b. about 50¢   c. more than 75¢

7. Which of the following factors accounts for the largest amount of U.S. dollars leaving the country?

a. Defense expenditures   b. Foreign aid
c. Private overseas investment   d. American tourists' spending

8. Which accounts for the least amount of U.S. dollars leaving the country?

a. Defense expenditures b. Foreign aid
c. Private overseas investment d. American tourists' spending

9. The United Nations has set 1% of a nation's wealth (GNP) as a target for ranking the rich nations' contributions to the poor countries. In 1970, out of 16 nations, the U.S. ranked:

a. 15th b. 8th c. 1st

10. Of the total government development assistance provided to the poorer nations by the rich nations, the U.S. provides about what percentage?

a. 40% b. 60% c. 80%

11. The cost to each American of the U.S. foreign aid program, including Food for Peace, Peace Corps, etc., is equivalent to:

a. less than a carton of cigarettes each month
b. about 10 cartons of cigarettes each month
c. more than 50 cartons of cigarettes each month.

ANSWERS: 1, a; 2, a; 3, c; 4, a; 5, a; 6, a;
7, d; 8, b; 9, a; 10, a; 11, a.

SOURCE: U.S. Agency for International Development, "Introduction to the FY1973 Development and Humanitarian Assistance Program Presentation to Congress."

BACKGROUNDER:

When the Church moves into the field of justice, the need to distinguish between justice and charity becomes crucial. For many Christians there is a tendency to confuse justice and charity. However, the practice of charity and the pursuit of justice are not the same. This is not to say that one is superior to the other. Each is essential in combatting the ills that afflict mankind, but each has its distinct characteristics.

One characteristic of an act of charity is that it is occasioned by an accidental event, a so-called act of God--flood, famine, earthquake; or an individual tragedy resulting from such things as fire or highway fatalities. To provide charity in such cases is to assist the victims of large-scale calamities or personal tragedies. The history of the Church in this field is probably second to no other institution in the world.

A second characteristic of an act of charity is spontaneity; in it there is no attempt to identify and cope with the causes of catastrophies. Relief measures are not designed to survey the root causes of disaster as such. Rather, the charitable donation is intended to move quickly to the victim.

Another characteristic of charity is that it is essentially a temporary provision. The victims must be provided immediate assistance to satisfy basic human needs, such as food, clothing, and shelter; but, the expectation is that conditions will return to normal and relief measures will no longer be needed.

A fourth mark of the charitable act is that it is non-controversial. Admittedly, donors are reluctant to give their money merely to vague goodwill projects, but when victims of natural calamaties or individual tragedies are clearly identified, the dominant question usually is not whether to respond to the needy, but rather, how much should be given.

The actions of the Good Samaritan are a classic example of the charitable response. The parable is silent about any attempts by the Samaritan to survey the root causes of highway banditry in Palestine, or to determine why the particular traveler had been victimized, or to analyze the cause of clerical indifference to human tragedy. The Samaritan, confronted by the victim on the roadside, promptly provided him immediate, temporary, and adequate assistance.

This is not to imply that the Church or Church people should abandon acts of charity, but rather, that these acts of charity must be done in such a way that the charitable act does not negate the demands of justice. For example, to aid the victims of natural disasters is worthy; however, if this is the only way in which the Church ministers to human needs, then it has failed. Charity and justice must complement each other. Given the human condition, the charitable act can become a substitute for the pursuit of justice which is often a more controversial, but hardly a less Christian, mode of action.

To deal with the issues of justice demands a different set of responses. Conditions of injustice are not accidents. They cannot be ascribed as acts of God; rather, they result from the acts of men. To relieve the victims of injustice demands that the root causes of injustice be identified and removed. This requires persistent and concerted effort; and short-term, sporadic efforts are both inappropriate and ineffective for such a mission.

The victims of injustice frequently live in conditions similar to those suffering from the effects of major disasters: wretched housing, inadequate food, insufficient medical care, marginal educational facilities. The scene, on its face, may appear to call for acts of charity, important in their own way. However, the search for root causes is likely to uncover not an isolated event, but rather, institutionalized conditions which violate the human dignity of groups of persons. To fail to grapple with this institutionalized violence is to fail to be allied with and to minister to those who hunger and thirst for justice.

The episodes in Exodus of Moses liberating his people aptly illustrate efforts to remove root causes of injustice. Moses did not appeal to Pharoah for teams of Egyptian volunteers with medicine and food to enter Jewish forced-labor camps. On the contrary, he challenged the institutional injustices of Pharoah's system, even disobeying unjust Egyptian laws; and ultimately he led his people to a new freedom and a new identity as a people.

THE RENT STRIKE MODEL

A social studies teacher in a high school in a poor neighborhood of a major city said: "The students' families live in run-down apartments; their landlords gouge them with high rents; the city officials have a 'hands-off policy.' The best thing I can teach my students is how to conduct a renter's strike. What it is, why it is, how it works--do's and don'ts."

Does this teacher's idea have validity? If not, what are its failings? If valid, does the principle have application in other fields of study?

THE MEXICO MODEL

The Synod document says that the mission of the Church demands that it should courageously denounce injustice. The Mexican hierarchy must be courageous if the statement they released in late 1971 is any indication. In it, the Mexican bishops accuse both the Mexican government and the American citizens of oppressing the Mexican people.

Issued under the direction of Bishop Alfredo Torres of Mexico City, the statement indicts the Mexican government for covering up the dehumanizing conditions of the majority of Mexicans. By describing Mexico as "a paradise, a country of peace and law and of good will," the government entices tourist dollars and foreign investment, "and thus maintains present conditions and dependency." The U.S. was charged with making Mexico "a mere subsidiary of the American system."

Even more remarkable in its candor is the Mexican bishops' self-condemnation. The statement noted that, historically, "pomp and angelic aloofness has placed the Church on the side of the oppressors."

In speaking of "the side of the oppressors," the statement of the Mexican hierarchy highlights the fact that the pursuit of justice places the Church in the context of two power blocs: one, the presently powerful; the other, the potentially powerful, the presently powerless. The powerful are active through a network of numerous forces and influences operating to maintain the existing system. This bloc considers that justice is already a reality, to be maintained by a system of law and order.

The potentially powerful bloc is comprised of the atomized and disparate groups of people for whom justice is not a reality; it is only an aspiration. A compelling sense of justice provides the impetus and the dynamism for their struggle for liberation.

The Church in pursuit of justice will necessarily confront the powerful, since it is not in the self-interest of this bloc that efforts to achieve justice for the powerless be successful. To pursue justice requires innovations that cut deeply into the existing order.

For this reason, the institutional Church's efforts in the field of justice have tended to be short-lived. As the Church probes into the power structure, pressure from the active bloc mounts, and tends to deflect the Church's efforts into the more traditional and less controversial mode of ministering in charity to the needy. Old slogans reemerge, like: "The Church is a friend of the poor," and "The poor we shall always have with us."

The power bloc is quite ready to support the Church in its humanitarian programs. The U.S. federal tax structure, for example, allows annual corporation deductions for charitable contributions in the amount of $5 billion. The fact that businesses contribute only about one fifth of their allowable deductions perhaps only serves to highlight the fact that, not only is the achieving of justice for the powerless not a high priority for a major sector of the active power bloc, but charity is not one of their dominant concerns either.

In the accommodation the Church makes with the active-power bloc, in which acts of charity begin to replace the pursuit of justice, the powerless are not forgotten, lest in their alienation and frustration they become a threat to the existing structures. The powerless become the recipients of the powerful's "contribution--deductible for income tax purposes." And for those who are hungry and destitute, unemployed and alienated, a handout of food or clothing is more real than the rhetoric of liberals who merely talk about justice.

However, because of the Church's public statements about justice, the poor are led to believe that injustices can and will be eradicated. Not only is the Church's credibility put on the line, but, more importantly, the hopes and expectations of the powerless are raised.

Sixty years ago, Mexico was wrenched by revolution, and the Church was a target of the landless rebels because it was identified with the rich and powerful. Today the institutional Church in Mexico is attempting to make a break with its reactionary past. What is not clear about this move, as well as similar efforts elsewhere, are the consequences for the Church of identifying itself so clearly with the needs, in justice, of the oppressed.

CLASSROOM ACTIVITY:

N.B. Participants will find the Pre-Test and the two "Models" on pages 24-27 of the Workbook.

1. Give the Pre-Test and discuss biases reflected in the pattern of students' answers.

2. Through class discussion, draw out distinctions between the characteristics of the response in charity and the response in justice, as well as the distinctions in the situations evoking either or both on the U.S. and global scene.

3. Present "The Rent Strike Model" and ask the students to develop a program by which the oppressed in any of the situations identified through earlier class discussions can achieve justice. Use both a domestic and a global situation.

4. Present "The Mexico Model" to the class as an example of the Church operating in a justice context. Examine local Church response to the situations listed in Classroom Activity 2. Is the Church clearly identified with the oppressed? Give examples.

5. With the class, examine the thrust of the various agencies involved in overseas activities. Evaluate class response, and if necessary, sharpen their ability to distinguish between the response in charity and the response in justice.

6. As an activity to integrate the issues and the impact of the seven modules on "Justice in the World," play the "Coffee Game" and/or "Guns or Butter." In the discussion following the game, integrate and develop with the class:

a. the domestic/global similarities;
b. the justice/peace/development relationship;
c. the need for change in "structures which oppress" and the risk involved in intervention;
d. the necessity for action in the political sphere as called for by Pope Paul in A Call to Action.

7. After students have been exposed to the Church's social teaching and the global reality, ask them to

a. list reasons they feel "the Church's social doctrine is little known." Discuss with class the reasons given.
b. Discuss what must occur to change the situation and why.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Simulation Games

"Coffee Game." Included in this Resource Manual. Illustrates the international systems of aid, trade, and investments by examining the role of coffee in that system.

"Guns or Butter." Available from Simile II, P.O. Box 1023, La Jolla, California 92037. Models an international system of five to seven nations with varying resources and power, in which students play roles as decision-makers.

Church Documents

Paul VI., A Call to Action. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Catholic Conference, 1971 (See above pp. 79-85).

TITLE: LETTER TO PEPE

OBJECTIVE: To help the participants concretize and articulate some of their feelings about the pace of social change, violence and political and economic systems other than their own.

LENGTH OF ACTIVITY: One hour.

MATERIALS: None, if participants have copies of the Workbook; if they do not have copies, one passout sheet for every five participants.

PROCEDURE: Ask each participant to write a letter in response to Pepe. This individual start surfaces personal attitudes. Then divide the participants into groups of five. Pass out a copy of "Pepe's Letter" to each group, or refer them to a copy of the letter on page 31 of the Workbook. Ask them to read the letter and follow the instructions.

Tell the groups that they have twenty minutes to discuss the letter and to draft a group response. Emphasize that the actual wording of the reply is not important, but that the general ideas in the group response should be agreed upon by all.

At the end of the twenty-minute period, reassemble the participants and call on one person from each group to present that group's response to Pepe's letter.

Allow time for discussion of each of the group's responses by all of the participants. Some key questions to keep in mind are: Is the reply paternalistic in tone? Sympathetic? What type of a financial commitment is made to Pepe? Does the reply get to the heart of the issue, or is it a vague, hazy cop-out? Does the reply show some understanding of "the injustice we can no longer bear"? How does it face the questions of revolutionary change and socialism?

After all the groups have presented their responses and these have been discussed you might ask the group to relate some of the points raised in this exercise to other designs and simulations. How would the "circles" and "triangles" in the simulation "Starpower" reply to Pepe?

PEPE'S LETTER

A foreign student you met last summer has returned to his home in Latin America. You receive the following letter from him. How would you reply?

My dear friend,

As you know, I went to the United States with great hopes. I expected to find there students who would understand the tragedy and agony of my people and who would be anxious to encourage and help us as we try to solve our problems. But I returned home sadly disillusioned. I am convinced now that most people in the United States have no idea of the social revolution we are caught up in today. They seem, too, to have little interest in learning about it.

I have heard people in your country talk about the freedoms they want us to have; no one seemed much concerned about the injustice we can no longer bear. Many North Americans have some vague knowledge that my people are hungry, ill-clad, in poor health, and living in extreme poverty. But they don't seem to know why--and they don't seem to care enough to want to do something about it.

But since you are my friend, I am writing to you to let you know that I have joined the Frente de Liberación Nacional. Our goal is to overthrow the repressive dictatorship which has gained so much support from the capitalists here and overseas and which continues to exploit the majority of my people. We hope we can do this without bloodshed, but we will do it.

Already we are planning how to govern the country when the revolution is achieved. Our government will be democratic and socialist. We will need the support of other socialist countries--and of friends like yourself.

Specifically, my dear friend, I have a request to make of you. Our FLN forces are engaged in grassroots education and health care with the peasants. We need money to purchase supplies. Can you help? I assure you that any money you send will not be used for the purchase of the weapons we need.

What do you say, my friend? Remember I told you it might come to this. Many in your country will not understand and will be against us. How about you?

If you can help us financially, I will send you further instructions. Please write.

Your brother,

Pepe

TITLE: ON TRIAL: AN AMERICAN WAR

This playlet was written and is distributed by the Division for Justice and Peace-USCC, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. An attractive packet containing all the necessary materials is available from them for 50¢. Reprinted with permission.

OBJECTIVE: To provide a context in which participants can examine some of their attitudes and preconceptions about war and peace in a Christian context.

LENGTH OF ACTIVITY: The playlet runs about 30 minutes. It is strongly recommended that sufficient time be allocated at the conclusion of the playlet for the group, as "jury," to discuss and "judge" the issues raised.

GROUP SIZE: 5 Readers and any number of participants to serve as members of the jury. Depending upon the size of the group, it can be divided into subgroups of 6-10 persons with a "jury foreman" appointed in each group.

MATERIALS:

- Program Notes for each participant. These notes are included in the Workbook on pages 32-34 and below pages 261-62.
- 5 copies of the complete script, one for each reader. A complete copy of the script is in each individual's Workbook.
- 3 reading stands
- 4 chairs and 1 tall stool
- 1 display easel
- 1 small table
- 2 2'x4' posterboards
- 3 9"x12" envelopes.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS: See the Teacher's Notes below with suggestions for a three-module lesson on "The Church's Just War Doctrine."

DIRECTIONS FOR STAGING:

The Set (see diagram below)

The Readings: (script) The readings in the script do not require a dramatic flair. They are, however, meant to be interpretive in the sense that the reader comprehends the meaning of the passage and tries to project this to the audience. The style should be that of a documentary, with each reader picking up his/her cues quickly so that the flow of the narrative is not broken. A rehearsal is recommended for a smoother performance.

Before the play begins: The readers take their seats before the audience (or class) enters the room. St. A (St. Augustine) is on the tall stool; DEF (Defender) on chair 4; JD (John Data) on chair 3; PRO (Prosecutor) on chair 2; and CF (Charles Footnote) on chair 1. Each reader has the full text of the script. DEF has the 3 9x12 envelopes. One posterboard (map) is on the easel, blank side facing the audience. The other posterboard (Just War principles) is hung on display.

If the participants have not read the program notes in their Workbook, then each is given a copy of the Program Notes upon entering the room, and is asked to read the Notes before the play begins.

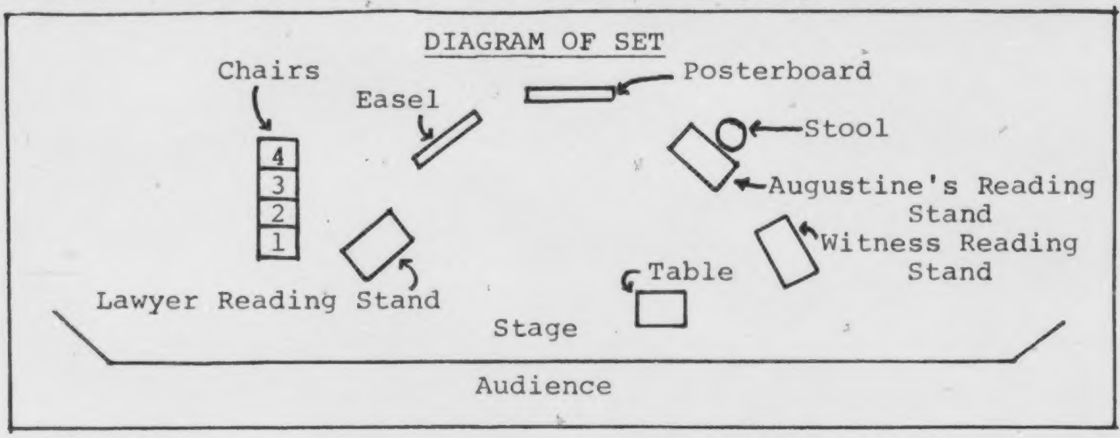


DIAGRAM OF SET

PROCEDURE: (The play begins when St. Augustine begins to read from the script, directing his remarks to the audience.)

SCRIPT

ON TRIAL: AN AMERICAN WAR

ST. A.: I'm not Saint Augustine. I know your Program Notes say I am. But God knows I'm no saint, and so do you. I'm just standing in for Augustine--to represent him and a number of other greats whose names are in your Program: men like Aquinas, de Vittoria and Suarez. These men, over the years, worked out the doctrine we call the Just War Theory. (Making a hand gesture to the posterboard at the center back of stage) You see here a listing of the requirements for a war to be just. Today, we're going to apply one of the principles of this theory to a real war. That principle is the one circled--the just cause.

The Just War Theory requires that, before a nation can go to war, it must have a just cause for doing so. The nation must have suffered, or be suffering, a real and grave wrong; and that wrong is so severe that it must be righted. The question before you, as members of the jury, is this: Did the United States meet that just cause requirement when it declared war against Spain in 1898? To decide this issue the court will now hear testimony.

(Defense lawyer walks to the lawyer reading stand.)

DEF: The defense is prepared to demonstrate that the action the United States was forced to take against Spain fully met the standard criterion of just cause as defined in the Just War Theory. I call Mr. John Data to the witness stand.

(John Data walks to the witness reading stand.)

DEF: Please give your name and your occupation.

JD: My name is John Data. I'm a U.S. citizen and a compiler of information about the Spanish-American War.

DEF: Would you sketch for us the background leading up to the war?

JD: The general attitude of most Americans toward Europe during the 1800's is very significant. Americans were skeptical and cautious about the intrigues of Europeans and their continual squabbles. This attitude toward Europe is evident in two official U.S. documents.

DEF: What are these documents, Mr. Data?

JD: Washington's Farewell Address and the Monroe Doctrine.

DEF: Your honor, I would like to place these documents in the record as Exhibits A and B.

ST. A: First, let's see what relevance they have to the Spanish-American War. Mr. Data, would you summarize the highpoints of these documents?

JD: Yes, Your Honor, I'd be glad to. Washington gave his Farewell Address in 1796. At that time, the United States was young, and relatively weak. President Washington spoke mainly about America's foreign policy. He said--and I'm reading from his Address--quote, Europe has interests which are very different from ours. She, therefore, becomes engaged in frequent controversies and wars. Why should we entangle our peace and prosperity in Europe's ambitions and rivalries. If we remain a united and efficient people, the period is not far off when we will be in command of our own future. Our policy, Washington said, is to steer clear of permanent alliances with any part of the foreign world. End of quote.

ST. A.: What about the other document--the Monroe Doctrine?

JD: If I may, I'd like to read an excerpt which sums up President Monroe's message to Congress in 1823: No part of the American continents is to be considered as available for future colonization by European nations. We should consider any attempt by Europeans to extend their system to any part of Latin America as dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States.

DEF: Your Honor, these official statements document the position that the United States had a policy of non-intervention in European affairs.

ST. A.: They seem to be relevant. You may place them in the record as Exhibits A and B.

DEF: Thank you, Your Honor.

(DEF takes two large envelopes, walks to the small table at center stage, places the envelopes on the table and returns to the lawyer reading stand.)

DEF: Mr. Data, what finally led up to the war between the United States and Spain in 1898?

JD: The Cuban situation. Cuba was part of the colonial empire of Spain, and had been since the time of Columbus. In the mid-1800's, the Cubans unsuccessfully attempted to revolt against Spain, and the war lasted about ten years. In 1895, under the leadership of the Cuban patriot José Marti, another war of independence broke out. This time, the rebels engaged in successful guerrilla warfare against the Spanish troops stationed on the island.

DEF: How did Spain react?

JD: They sent General Campos to command the Spanish Army in Cuba. Campos had put down the Cuban revolution 20 years before. But the new insurrection had wider popular support, and he was unable to defeat the revolutionaries. In less than a year, the rebels secured much of the island and they were on the outskirts of the capital city, Havana.

DEF: In other words, Mr. Data, the island had been in a state of chronic violence and repeated uprisings for a number of years.

JD: That's correct.

DEF: What was the official U.S. reaction?

JD: It was cautious and restrained.

DEF: Would you elaborate on that?

JD: The United States assured Spain that it had no designs on Cuba, and that it was interested in cooperating with Spain in the immediate pacification of the island. However, the Spanish government was reminded that U.S. investments and properties, like sugar refineries and railroads, were being damaged. President Cleveland offered his assistance to help arrange a peaceful settlement. His plan, he said, would maintain Spain's sovereignty over the island, but also would provide a reasonable degree of local self-government for the Cubans.

DEF: In view of the success of the Cuban rebels and the concern expressed by the United States, did the Spanish government change its tactics?

JD: Only in that it increased its military force. Campos was relieved of his command and replaced by General Weyler. Several hundred thousand additional troops were sent to the island. Since the revolutionaries were aided by the peasants in the rural areas, Weyler decided to remove the peasants from the countryside. Hundreds of thousands of Cubans were forced from their homes and herded into campsites in the towns and cities.

DEF: Did the people in the United States know what was happening?

JD: Yes. The U.S. observer on the scene described the dehumanizing conditions in the concentration camps as gruesome. He felt the policy would result in the extinction of the Cuban people. The American consul in Havana estimated that by the end of 1897, some two hundred thousand Cubans had died in the camps and another two hundred thousand were dying of starvation. In spite of these tactics, the Cuban patriots persisted in their rebellion.

DEF: How did these tactics affect the United States?

JD: In December 1896, almost two years after the revolution began, President Cleveland repeated his desire to see--what he termed--the pacification of the island. The President pointed out that America's concern was by no means only humanitarian. He reminded the Spanish government that Americans had millions of dollars invested in Cuba, and that, before the outbreak of violence, our volume of trade with the island had been substantial.

DEF: Did Cleveland say anything about how the American people felt about the revolution?

JD: Yes. He told Spain that a number of Americans were demanding some sort of intervention on the part of the United States. And he warned Spain that if it could not control the Cuban situation, the United States might be forced to take some positive action.

DEF: William McKinley was inaugurated President in the following year, 1897. What was his attitude toward the Cuban affair?

JD: In his Inaugural Address, McKinley stressed America's continuing interest in opening up new markets for our products. Let us move out, he said, to new fields and increase the sale of our products in foreign markets. Our only purpose is to open trade wherever we can. He also said, We want no wars of conquest. We resist the temptation of European empires to grab colonial possessions. He did not mention Cuba by name.

DEF: If he didn't mention Cuba in his Inaugural Address, how did he inform Spain of his views on the Cuban situation?

JD: He appointed a new Ambassador to Spain, Stewart Woodford, and gave him specific instructions.

DEF: What were these instructions?

JD: First, McKinley told Woodford how he saw the situation. McKinley said, quote: The extraordinary interest of the United States in the Cuban situation cannot be ignored. Our citizens are greatly concerned about their property and commerical ventures in Cuba. The chronic conditions of trouble and violence in Cuba constantly cause social and political unrest in the United States. And these continuous irritations injure the normal function of business and delay the condition of prosperity to which America is entitled. End of quote.

DEF: That was background for Woodward. What was he supposed to tell Spain?

JD: Mainly two things. As McKinley put it: Our sincere wish is to give aid to Spain in order that an enduring peace may result. However, McKinley also added: The United States has a moral obligation under international law to wait only a reasonable time for Spain to settle the Cuban uprising, and the limits of our endurance have just about been reached. Woodford was specifically instructed, according to the document, to bring this matter to the attention of the Spanish government with all the earnestness which the constantly imperiled national interests of the United States justifies. And Woodward did exactly that.

DEF: Your Honor, I would like to place these instructions in the record.

ST. A: You may place them in the record as Exhibit C.

(DEF takes third large envelope to small table in center stage, places it on the table and returns to the lawyer reading stand.)

DEF: Thank you, Mr. Data.

ST. A: The witness may step down.

(JD leaves the witness reading stand and returns to chair 3 as DEF continues reading.)

DEF: Your Honor, from the evidence just presented, it is clear that the United States, in the 1800's, had a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of European nations. Secondly, it had exercised great self-restraint in the Cuban affair. However, the chronic violence that characterized that island was both a continuous hazard and the cause of serious injury to the United States. Finally, since Spain was incapable of solving the problem, the United States was justified in taking positive action to do so. Your Honor, the defense rests its case.

ST. A: Thank you. The Court will now hear the case for the prosecution.

(DEF returns to chair 4; the lawyer for the prosecution walks to the lawyer reading stand.)

PRO: Your Honor, the prosecution is prepared to show that the United States did not meet the just cause criterion of the Just War Theory. Rather, the United States went to war against Spain to satisfy its own very narrowly defined self-interests. During the years preceding the Spanish-American War, the United States was continually expanding its commercial interests overseas. As a consequence, the United States was frequently involved in military skirmishes, and finally, by 1898, in a full-scale war. I call Mr. Charles Footnote to the stand.

(Charles Footnote walks to the witness reading stand.)

PRO: Would you please give your name and occupation?

CF: My name is Charles Footnote. I'm a U. S. citizen and a compiler of information about the Spanish-American War.

PRO: Mr. Footnote, do you take issue with the facts as they have been presented?

CF: No, sir. As far as the defense counsel chose to present them, they were substantially correct.

PRO: How do you mean, as far as the defense counsel chose to present them? Is there additional information that should be presented?

CF: I'd say so, definitely. In the first place, it's correct to say, as Mr. Data did, that the United States adopted a general policy of non-intervention in the affairs of Europe in the early 1800's. But that's only part of the story. After the Civil War in the mid-1800's, the United States began to expand its trade and commercial interests. At the same time, the United States found it necessary to increase its military power.

PRO: Its military power, Mr. Footnote?

CF: Yes, particularly the navy. Ten years before we declared war on Spain, the Secretary of the Navy argued: The nation that is ready to strike the first blow will gain an advantage which its enemy can never offset. He predicted that future U.S. naval action would be necessary in the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean. He said American interests there were growing rapidly and were too imperiled, quote, to be left unprotected, unquote. By 1895, the American navy had moved from twelfth to seventh place among the navies of the world.

PRO: What were the American interests that needed the navy's protection?

CF: Chiefly its expanding business interests in cotton goods, bananas, sugar, oil and railroads. And, these interests were primarily in Latin America and in China. During the period in question, the United States took armed actions against other nations on 29 occasions, 28 of them in Latin America and the Pacific. That shows a definite relationship between economic interests and military power.

DEF: (standing) Objection. Your Honor, the prosecution is suggesting that the United States was roaming the high seas, intent on building an empire. Is it not true, Mr. Footnote, that these military actions were taken to protect the lives and property of American citizens?

CF: That's precisely the point. The United States was becoming a commercial world power and a policy of non-intervention was no longer consistent with these interests.

(DEF sits down.)

PRO: The United States had a particular interest in China at this time, is that not correct, Mr. Footnote?

DEF: (standing) Your Honor, I object to this whole line of questioning. The U.S. declaration of war against Spain specifically referred to Cuba. There wasn't even a mention of the Pacific area in that document, much less of China.

PRO: Your Honor, the prosecution is prepared to show the relevance of the U.S.-China relationship to the issue before the court.

ST. A: Proceed, Mr. Footnote.

(DEF sits down)

CF: In 1898, after declaring war on Spain, the United States invaded the Philippine Islands. The Philippines, like Cuba, were part of Spain's colonial empire. The United States eventually took over the islands completely. To understand why, we have to look at the growing relationship between the United States and China.

The United States signed its first trade agreement with China in 1844. In 1889, the U.S. consul at Peking reported that China is a vast market for commerce not sufficiently exploited. However, he warned American businessmen that foreigners hold their place in China by military force and by force alone.

PRO: Did the United States develop its trade with China?

CF: Yes, it did. During the 1890's our trade with China doubled, and it seemed likely to continue. However, the other major commercial nations--Great Britain, France and Germany--began to carve up the China market, and American businessmen feared these nations would block the United States out of China. They pressured McKinley to take steps to defend our treaty rights and protect our commercial interests in China.

ST. A: Mr. Footnote, how is this relevant to the cause of the Spanish-American War?

CF: I'm coming to that, Your Honor. Theodore Roosevelt was the Assistant Secretary of the Navy at the time and he felt that war with Spain was very likely. He pressed upon McKinley a comprehensive plan of action in the Pacific in the event of war. Among other things, he advised--and I'm quoting Roosevelt here--Our Asiatic squadron should blockade, and if possible, take Manila, the capital of the Philippines.

PRO: Did McKinley authorize any military action in the Philippines?

CF: Yes. Eleven days after declaring war on Spain, Dewey sailed into Manila Bay and destroyed Spain's Asiatic fleet. The Wall Street Journal was saying, at the time, that the U.S. should retain interest in the Philippines to protect not only existing trade with the East, but the greater trade likely to be developed. Over the next three years, the United States sent more than one hundred thousand troops to the Philippines, fighting Filipinos to gain undisputed possession of the islands.

PRO: (Goes to the easel and turns posterboard around so that the map faces the audience.) Your Honor, the prosecution offers as Exhibit 1 this map showing the location of the 28 armed actions taken by the United States. This is an average of one intervention every 15 months. (PRO goes back to lawyer reading stand and continues reading.) I offer this as ample proof that the U.S. policy was not one of non-intervention, but rather, one of intervention when its interests conflicted with those of other nations. The defense suggests that the U.S. action was characterized by self-restraint. I suggest, rather, that it was the self-restraint of the nations against whom the actions were taken that prevented escalation of any of these actions into full-scale war.

With reference to Cuba, the Defense would have us believe that U.S. interests were severely imperiled by the Cuban situation. Mr. Footnote, what were the facts?

CF: The fact is that Americans had about one and a half billion dollars invested in foreign countries. Less than 6% of that was invested in Cuba. Our trade with Cuba was also a relatively small part of our total world trade, less than 6%. This is not to say that some Americans were not adversely affected by events in Cuba. They were, but that group was relatively small, although quite influential.

PRO: Thank you, Mr. Footnote.

ST. A: The witness may step down.

(CF leaves the witness reading stand and returns to chair 1 as PRO continues reading.)

PRO: Your Honor, I submit that the cause for which the United States declared war against Spain was insufficient to satisfy the requirements of the just cause criterion. Therefore, the United States was involved in an unjust war with Spain, with Cuba, and with the Philippines. Your Honor, the prosecution rests its case.

ST. A: Thank you. Does the defense have concluding remarks?

DEF: Yes, I do.

(DEF walks to lawyer reading stand; PRO returns to chair 2.)

DEF: Your Honor, there is no question that the events leading up to the war against Spain were complex and fast-moving. However, the United States had no intention to acquire the Philippine Islands when it went to war against Spain. These islands were simply thrust upon us by fate. This is very clear in the words of President McKinley: The truth is, I didn't want the Philippines, and when they came to us as a gift from the gods, I didn't know what to do with them. When the Spanish War broke out, I ordered Dewey to go to Manila and capture or destroy the Spanish fleet. But that was as far as I thought. Then, however, there was nothing for us to do but to take the Philippine Islands, and, McKinley said, educate, uplift and Christianize the Filipinos. End of quote.

But, Your Honor, let us focus on the real issue in this case. The fact is, the United States went to war with Spain to bring peace to Cuba. The Spanish troops were unable to put down the uprising; and the rebels were unable to defeat Spain. Neither side could resolve the turmoil. The island was in chaos. The United States had to intervene. Therefore, I request the jury to find that the United States' cause for declaring war was just.

ST. A.: Thank you. Does the prosecution have concluding remarks?

PRO: Yes, I do.

(PRO walks to lawyer reading stand; DEF returns to chair 4.)

PRO: Your honor, a nation's cause for going to war is just when that nation is suffering a wrong so severe it must be righted. To suggest that events in Cuba occasioned anything more than irritation for the United States is a gross exaggeration. To suggest that the Philippines posed a threat is absurd.

The defense claims the United States went to war to bring peace to Cuba. That isn't how the Cubans viewed the situation. Writing in the early days of the Cuban revolt, José Marti, who led the Cuban uprising and gave his life in that effort, said:

Let my words express the weariness of an oppressed people who hope through their struggle to achieve a government of their own. Cuba must be free both from Spain and from the United States. The hour is fast approaching when America might go so far as to intervene. We do not want to remove the present oppression only to find that the old colonial spirit returns in the new dress of a Yankee uniform. This is our war. This is the Republic of Cuba we are creating. All I have done and shall ever do, Marti said, is fight for Cuba's independence. End of quote.

Your Honor, the subsequent events proved that Marti's fears were justified. After the declaration of war against Spain, U.S. troops invaded Cuba and occupied the island for virtually all of the next 25 years. The United States did not act simply to bring peace to Cuba; it acted to control the island. The United States simply replaced Spain as the dominant colonial power. Therefore, I request the jury to find the United States guilty of perpetrating an unjust war.

ST. A.: Thank you.

(PRO returns to chair 2 as St. A continues reading, directing his remarks to the audience.)

ST. A: Both the defense and the prosecution have presented their cases. It is now up to you, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, to decide the issue.

It is important to recall that, in this case, the two major powers--the United States and Spain--did not pose immediate and direct threats to each other. Neither nation had plans to attack the home ports or coastlines of the other. Both countries, rather, focused exclusively on conditions of conflict in offshore islands--Cuba and the Philippines.

It is also necessary to note that a people's struggle for independence from colonial domination frequently results in violence and instability in that colony. More powerful nations often exploit these conditions to satisfy their own selfish interests. When they do so, they violate the principles of justice.

The verdict depends on you. As the jury, you must decide. On one level, the question before you is this: Since the United States initiated the action of officially declaring war against Spain, did the United States have a just cause for going to war? That is, was the United States suffering a real and grave wrong, a wrong so severe that it had to be righted? If it was not, you must find the U.S. government guilty of violating the traditional Christian doctrine of just war.

On another level, Spain is on trial. Was the Spanish government guilty of unjustly suppressing the people of Cuba by resisting the Cuban movement for independence?

On yet a third level, there are the actions of the Cuban people themselves. During the 1800's, Cubans repeatedly rebelled against Spanish authority. Were they guilty of injustice in breaking the laws and disrupting the order established by the Spanish government?

For the purpose of making your determination, only the evidence presented in the trial is to be used. Data acquired from other sources are not allowable in your deliberation. The case, then, is in your hands. Was there a violation of the just cause principle of the Just War Theory? If so, who is guilty? Who is innocent?

What is your verdict?

ST. A.and the other readers walk off the stage.

PROCESSING THE EXERCISE: It would be advisable to give the discussion leader (or each "jury foreman") a copy of the script for advance study and preparation. The discussion leader should also attend the rehearsal, if possible.

Areas of discussion and "judgment" are suggested in St. Augustine's final charge to the jury (audience) and in the Program Notes.

TEACHER'S NOTES

Three-module lesson
on
THE CHURCH'S JUST WAR DOCTRINE

OBJECTIVE:

To explore the Church's teaching on war, pacifism, and patriotism.

FIRST MODULE:

Lecture/discussion of Church's traditional teaching on issues of war.

Teacher's background reading:

Christian Tradition and Peacemaking Today (32-page booklet available from the USCC Division of Justice and Peace).

Nuclear War, Deterrence and Morality, by William V. O'Brien (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1967) especially pp. 17-31.

Just War and Pacifism: A Catholic Dialogue (70-page booklet available from the USCC Division of Justice and Peace).

SECOND MODULE:

Student presentation of "On Trial: An American War," followed by student discussion.

Teacher's background reading:

The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism, Volume I: 1895-1898 by Philip S. Foner (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972), paperback.

Republic or Empire, American Resistance to the Philippine War by Daniel B. Schirmer (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1972).

Living Documents in American History, Volume 2: From Reconstruction to the Outbreak of World War I, John Anthony Scott, ed. (New York: Washington Square Press, 1968), paperback.

"Statement on Presidential War Powers," by Senator Barry Goldwater, (Congressional Record, April 26, 1971. Pp. S5636-S5647.)

THIRD MODULE:

Lecture/discussion of present-day implications of war/peace issues.

Show film "Who Invited US" (60-minute film available from the Indiana University A-V Department. Reviews history of U.S. military intervention from the take-over of the Philippines. A useful film to start discussion of extent and manner U.S. is involved in the affairs of other countries, how the U.S. should legitimately defend its values and what its role should be as a superpower. [From War.Peace.Film Guide, World Without War Publications, 7245 S. Merrill Ave., Chicago 60649.])

Teacher's background reading:

The Family of Nations, James S. Rausch, ed. (Huntington, Ind.: Our Sunday Visitor, 1970), paperback.

Additional background reading for the teacher:

Protest: Pacifism and Politics, James Finn, ed. (New York: Random House, 1968), paperback.

War and/or Survival, by William V. O'Brien (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1969).

PROGRAM NOTES

ON TRIAL: AN AMERICAN WAR

To kill another human being is clearly a violation of God's law. But are there circumstances when it is not sinful to take the life of another person? In particular, is it possible that warfare, during which persons are killed on a massive scale, is not only tolerable, but just, and therefore morally lawful?

As the early Christians began to take an ever larger role in the affairs of civil society, these questions became the subject of grave pastoral concerns for Churchmen. Saint Augustine, in the fourth century, began to attempt to deal with the issue. Of all the rationales that societies have constructed to evaluate the justness of warfare, the theory which Saint Augustine began to develop has received the widest treatment. It is known as the Just War Theory, and some of the greatest names in Catholic theology and ethics have contributed to it--Thomas Aquinas, Francisco de Vittoria, Francisco Suarez.

Over the centuries, these men have elaborated criteria which must be strictly adhered to in order for a war to be just. Before a nation can resort to war, the theory requires that the nation must have a just cause; only the nation's competent and appropriate authority can make the official decision that war is required in the national interest; the nation must have the right intention; and the nation must follow the principle of proportionality in conducting the war.

The initial Just War criterion of "just cause" states that the nation must be suffering a real and grave wrong perpetrated by the offending nation(s), and this wrong is so serious that it must be righted. It is this criterion of the Just War Theory--the nation's "just cause"--that is explored in the playlet "On Trial: An American War."

"On Trial" is not a Joe McCarthy-type witch hunt; its purpose is not to flush out "devils." Nor is it modeled after the Nuremberg trials. It does not seek to convict persons for violations of the international laws of war. It is the moral dimension of war that is examined. The playlet, therefore, tries to place a war on trial, not the personalities alive at the time. The essential question it raises is: Did the United States have a "just cause" to declare war on Spain in 1898?

This is the explicit issue for trial. However, "trials" on other levels are implicit here. And St.Augustine, the judge in the trial, raises some of these in his summation and charge to the members of the jury--the audience.

More fundamentally, however, the Just War Theory itself is "on trial." Can the Theory, in fact, be used to judge the justness or morality of a war? Perhaps, as John Courtney Murray, S.J., an eminent Catholic moralist of the 1960's said, in speaking of Christians' failure to apply the Just War principles to the fire bombing of Dresden, Hamburg, and Tokyo: "...the traditional doctrine was irrelevant during World War II, but there is a place for an indictment of all of us who failed to make the traditional doctrine relevant." Or perhaps, as pacifists have always concluded, the Just War Theory compromises the Gospel message about the sacredness of all human life, and allows the Gospel to be manipulated to serve the purposes of nation-states.

To be any good, a theory has to be useful. "On Trial: An American War" examines the practicality of the Just War Theory. If practical, the theory can be applied to a particular past war. This can assist citizens to examine their nation's history, and to understand its implications for the present. This is the ongoing "trial."

The Cast

Judge:
  St. Augustine

Lawyers:
  Defender
  Prosecutor

Witnesses:
  John Data
  Charles Footnote

Jury:
  The Audience

CHART OF JUST WAR PRINCIPLES

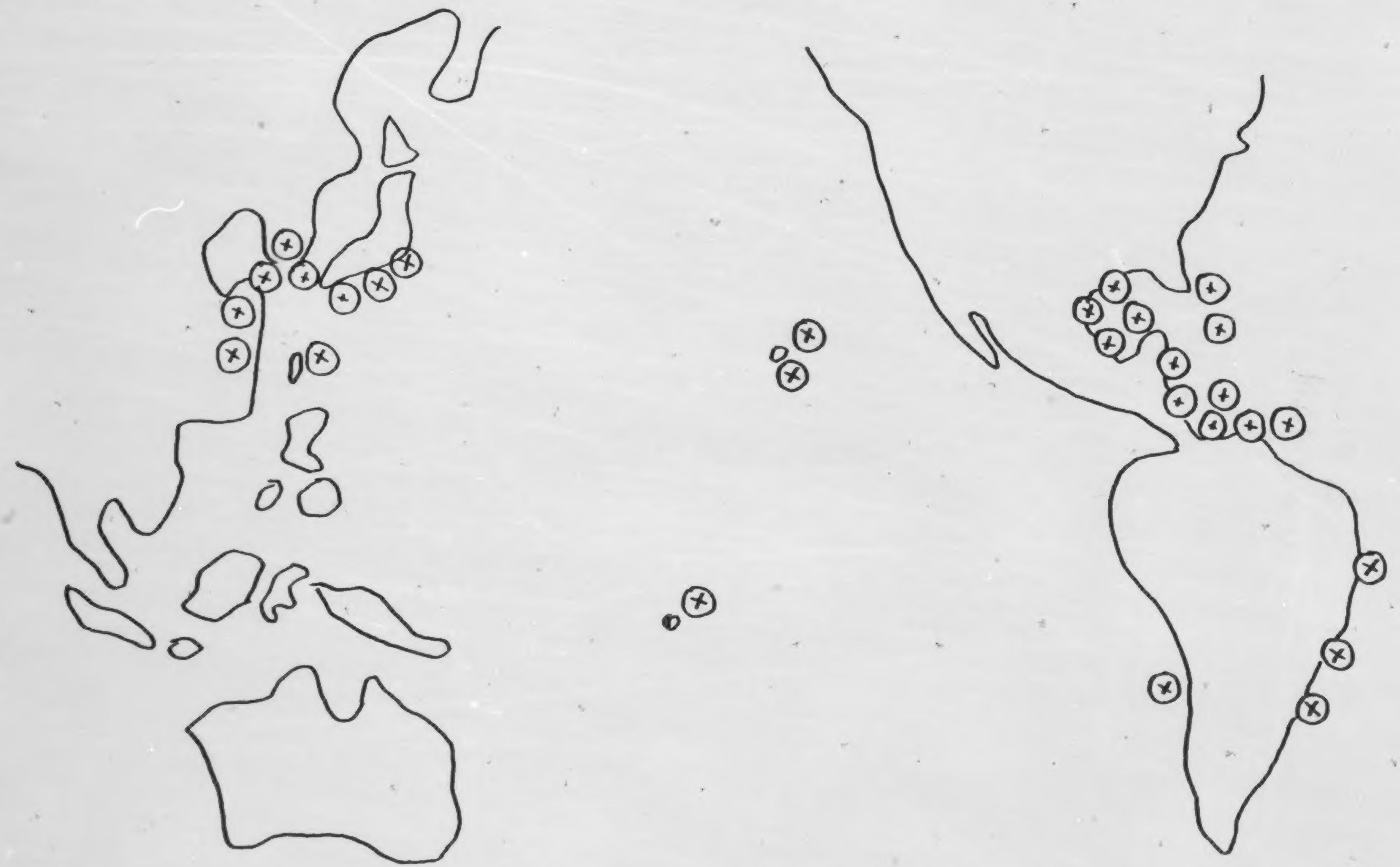
A NATION'S WAR IS UNJUST

UNLESS IT:

1. HAS A JUST CAUSE, and
2. DECLARES WAR BY A LEGITIMATE SPOKESMAN OF THE PEOPLE, and
3. HAS A RIGHT INTENTION, and
4. FOLLOWS THE PRINCIPLE OF PROPORTIONALITY.

EXHIBIT 1

LOCATION OF 28 ARMED ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE UNITED STATES 1863-1897



TITLE: EVERY MAN MY BROTHER?

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OBJECTIVE: To provide a context in which participants can look at racism and at the economic factors that encourage and support it.

LENGTH OF ACTIVITY: The playlet runs about 30 minutes. It is strongly recommended that sufficient time be allocated at the conclusion of the playlet for the group to discuss the issues raised.

GROUP SIZE: 7 readers and any number of participants. See notes on "The Cast" below.

MATERIALS:

- large easel;
- 4 posterboard sheets (2' x 4');
- small table;
- 3 reading stands;
- 7 copies of the script; a complete copy of the script is in each individual's Workbook.
- record player;
- recordings (instrumentals) of "My Country 'tis of Thee," "America the Beautiful," and the "Battle Hymn of the Republic";
- sheet of paper on which is typed SIXTH READER's final speech, "Perhaps the day will come..." (see page 279).

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS: See the "Selected Bibliography" prepared for this exercise on pp. 281-82.

DIRECTIONS FOR STAGING:

The Cast

Seven readers: CANDOR, FIRST READER, SECOND READER, THIRD READER, FOURTH READER (preferably an Indian), FIFTH READER (preferably a Black), SIXTH READER. If playlet is scheduled to be followed immediately by open discussion period, selection of SIXTH READER should be made based on person's empathy toward the subject and ability to lead group discussion (See note, page 280).

These readings are not meant to be dramatic in the sense that the reader "acts out" a part. They are, however, meant to be interpretive in the sense that the reader comprehends well the meaning of the passage and tries to project this to the audience in a restrained or low-key manner. The style should be that of a documentary, with each reader picking up his or her cues quickly so that the flow of the narrative is not broken. A rehearsal is recommended for a smoother performance. READERS take seats with the audience before playlet begins at seven different places throughout the room.

The number of READERS has been chosen to add variety of voices to the presentations as well as dramatic value. If you have a limited number of persons from which to select readers, reading parts for FOURTH READER and FIFTH READER can be combined into one reader.

The Set

Large easel is in center of rear of stage, mounted with four white posterboard sheets (2' x 4'). First card is a facsimile of a standard eye chart (first line oversized capital E, etc. Size of the letters is determined by the fact that the third line should be legible to persons sitting in first row). Second chart has red disc (18-inch diameter) in the center. Third chart has a black disc (same size as others). Fourth chart has brown disc (same size as others). When playlet opens, the cards are on the easel with eye chart facing the audience, behind it is red chart, next the black, and then the brown chart.

Small table is placed next to the easel.

Three reading stands are on the stage. On each stand is a 9" x 12" binder opened to Part One of the script. First stand is for CANDOR. It is slightly to the right of center stage (from audience point of view) and closer to the audience than the other two. Second stand is for FIRST READER. It is to CANDOR's right (as he faces the audience) and slightly to the rear. Third stand is for SECOND READER. It is to CANDOR's left and deeper into the stage than the FIRST READER'S stand. (If space is at a premium, the three stands can be placed in a semi-circle).

While audience takes their seats, recordings (instrumentals) of "My Country 'Tis of Thee," "America the Beautiful," and "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" play consecutively and continuously, softly but noticeably. Record player should be in an inconspicuous location.

The Readers

Before the audience is seated, CANDOR and other READERS take their places. CANDOR takes a seat in the front row of the audience, near the center. FIRST READER and SECOND READER take seats in the second row, some distance apart. THIRD READER takes a seat at the end of the first row. FOURTH, FIFTH, and SIXTH READERS take seats in the last row, some distance apart.

The Script

Scripts are placed on the reading stands. THIRD, FOURTH, FIFTH and SIXTH READERS have their scripts with them when they take their places in the audience. In addition, SIXTH READER has in his coat pocket the sheet of paper on which is typed his final speech.

PLAYLET

The playlet opens with CANDOR walking to his reading stand. Volume of music is turned down very low, barely audible-but audible.

PART ONE

CANDOR comes to his reading stand from seat in audience. Begins to read.

CANDOR: Candor's my name. Henry J. Candor. I'm an eye doctor. I've been fitting people with glasses since 'way before the last war. Funny thing about people. Sometimes they'd rather squint than wear glasses. But testing people's eyes can be a tricky business. When I ask a person to look at an eye chart and say, "Read line 3," if they can't see it, some get mad at me. All I did was ask them to look. And I guess that's what I'm doing here now--trying to provide a better look at some colors, like red, black, brown, and white.

CANDOR moves to easel. Removes eye chart, places it face down on the small table. Returns to reading stand.

FIRST and SECOND READERS come to their reading stands from seats in the audience as CANDOR continues to read.

CANDOR: The first color on the chart is red. Red is the color of rage, and fire, and blood, and the American Indian. Maybe a good place to start looking at the color red is Wounded Knee Creek: December 29, 1890.

FIRST READER: Soldiers of the U.S. Cavalry surround the remnants of the Sioux Indians just west of Wounded Knee Creek in South Dakota. Soldiers are stationed on all sides of the camp. Four Hotchkiss guns are posted on a slight hill, and trained directly on the camp. Some of the soldiers search the tepees for weapons. They overturn beds, shoving aside the Indian women who protest loudly and try to bar their way. Most of the Sioux men have knives under their blankets, and are becoming agitated by the cries of their women.

SECOND READER: The soldiers find about forty guns. A young brave, who is concealing a gun under his blanket, pulls out the gun and fires, killing one of the soldiers.

The troops respond instantly with a volley of rifle fire at point-blank range, killing about half of the Indians. The rest of the Sioux throw off their blankets and draw their knives or pull out old-fashioned war clubs and grapple with the soldiers. The Hotchkiss guns then fire into the camp. The rest of the troops begin shooting at the Indians attempting to flee. Within minutes, more than three hundred Indian men, women, and children are killed.

CANDOR: Members of the U.S. cavalry gave eye-witness accounts.

THIRD READER rises and faces the audience.

THIRD READER: It made me sick to look at the awful sight. A girl, about eighteen, was lying on the ground supporting herself on her hand, the blood spurting from her mouth. Near her lay two other Indians, and all around, like patches on the snow, were dead squaws, each in a pool of blood. We found a baby who was unhurt, but the mother was dead. She must have been shot with a revolver held not five feet away. Her hair was burned and her skin blackened with powder burns.

THIRD READER sits down.

FOURTH READER: (remaining seated) Why don't we go back to the beginning, back when it all started?

CANDOR: It may not be possible for us to see the real red man, the authentic face of the American Indian. We have seen him distorted so often in movies and TV Westerns. But we do have an observer of that early scene, back before the wagon trains and massacres. Christopher Columbus tells us about the Indians that he first met.

FIRST READER: I believe that I must have come to the garden of a New Eden. The Indians are so entirely our friends. Anything they have, if asked for it, they give to us. They show us so much lovingness as though they would give us their hearts.

CANDOR: At first, the Indians warmly welcomed the Europeans as visitors. In 1607, Powhatan, chief of the Indians in Virginia, greeted Captain John Smith:

SECOND READER: Do not come with your guns and swords to invade us. What good will it do for you to take by force that which you may peacefully have with our love: Rest well, and sleep peacefully in the midst of our women and children.

CANDOR: A source of conflict between the Indians and the white settlers was the attitude about land.

SECOND READER: For the Indian, land had a deeply religious significance. He treated the land just like he treated the people around him. He wanted to live there and let others live there also. The Indian did not understand the "value" of land in white man's terms, that is, as a piece of property for speculation.

CANDOR: The clash over the two views of land value led to a clash over the possession of the land itself. The white man wanted the Indian to quit being Indian, give up his Indian customs, and start acting like a white man. It was that simple. Oh, there was just one more thing. The white man also wanted the land, and that's where the trouble started.

FOURTH READER: (remaining seated) That's right. When Columbus first arrived here the place was owned by Indians, over two billion acres stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. How did they lose it?

FIRST READER: It was not because the white men were "savages" any more than the Indians were that the wars between the two were so cruel. These wars did not consist of battles fought by the armies of nations. On the one side were the armies from Europe, and later the United States. But on the other side was the whole of the Indian people--men, women, and children--desperately defending their homes.

THIRD READER rises and faces the audience.

CANDOR: The white men seemed to be appalled at the fierce resistance they met when they invaded the Indians' land. They called the Indians "savages." For example, the American Declaration of Independence speaks of the Indians as:

THIRD READER: merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

CANDOR: General George Custer:

THIRD READER: The Indian is savage in every sense of the word and has a cruel, ferocious nature.

THIRD READER sits down.

CANDOR: Another tone that developed during these years was that not only is the color red bad, but red is better dead. Introducing himself to General Philip Sheridan, a Comanche added, "Me good Indian." Sheridan replied:

FIRST READER: The only good Indians I know are dead.

CANDOR: With such bitterness between whites and reds, it is little wonder that atrocities occurred.

FIRST READER: In 1779, General George Washington sent troops to pacify some Iroquois who had been harassing white settlers in Pennsylvania and New York. General John Sullivan led the attack, and scores of Indian homes were destroyed, hundred of acres of crops and orchards were burnt out. Little resistance was encountered from the Indians who retreated to the shelter of British posts, but not all escaped. Some Indians were killed and their bodies flayed to provide boot tops for the soldiers.

SECOND READER: In 1830, President Andrew Jackson ordered the forced removal of all Indian tribes east of the Mississippi River. During the next ten years, an estimated 80,000 Indians were herded westward, across the Mississippi. Thousands died from disease and starvation on the thousand-mile forced march.

CANDOR: In 1849, gold was discovered in California.

SECOND READER: The gold rush attracted thousands of whites who inundated the Indians' land in California, destroying their villages and overrunning their hunting grounds. In time, white attitudes hardened against Indians so that no excuse was needed for hostility against them. Indian children were murdered, and Indian women were raped, or killed indiscriminately. Many Indian adult males were rounded up for slave labor.

CANDOR: So that's what red looks like. Indians once owned two billion acres of land--today they have 50 million acres--about the size of New England; less than 3% of the land they started with.

So I guess that's it for the color red.

FOURTH READER: Not quite!

FOURTH READER rises, walks up to the easel, looks at the chart, then turns to the audience and reads.

FOURTH READER: There are several more shades to the color red which must never be forgotten. We Indians have been here for thousands of years. This is our homeland.

We have our own distinctive cultures, and we have different points of view from those that come from Western European and Judeo-Christian traditions.

We are the only people in America who have been militarily conquered. But we are living proof that no people has ever been forced by another group into forsaking its own culture.

FOURTH READER returns to his seat in audience.

PART TWO

CANDOR walks to easel. Removes red chart, places it face down on table. Returns to reading stand.

CANDOR: The next color is black. Black is the color of shoe polish and darkness, and despair--and the American Negro. (Pause) It all started simply enough, the business of buying and selling black men. Not that

America invented the slave trade; it had been going on for a long time. According to John Rolfe, an early colonist, it happened this way:

FIRST READER: Toward the end of August 1619, a Dutch warship arrived at a port in the Virginia Colony. Its only cargo was 20 Negroes which Governor Berkeley acquired by trading food supplies.

CANDOR: That was it. America was in the slave business. John Barbot (pronounced Bar-bo), a slave merchant of those early days, describes a typical scene at a port city on the West Coast of Africa where the slave ships started out.

SECOND READER: After the round-up, blacks were put in corrals on the beach. They were then brought out naked into a large area where doctors examined them, and separated the healthy ones from the weak. Slave dealers then began the bidding. When a black had been purchased, he was immediately branded with a red-hot iron.

FIRST READER: Each company had its own branding spot, such as the cheek or the arm. After a place on the skin was rubbed with grease and a piece of oil paper put over it, the branding iron was pressed against the skin. The skin swelled painfully and at once the letters became visible, and remained so forever.

CANDOR: The trip across the Atlantic was a brutal experience.

SECOND READER: Slaves were packed like coffins on shelves in the hold of the slave ships. The shelves were often separated by no more than eighteen inches and it was virtually impossible for the slaves to turn or shift with any degree of ease. They lay during the six to ten weeks of the ocean voyage like living corpses. When epidemics of dysentery or smallpox swept through the ship, the dead bodies were thrown overboard. It was common for sharks to pick up a ship off the coast of Africa and follow it all the way to America.

CANDOR: The slave trade flourished in colonial America, and by the time of the American Revolution there were half a million black men living in enforced slavery in the colonies.

FIFTH READER: (remaining seated) Wasn't the slogan of that Revolution: "All men are created equal?" Why didn't it work out that way, if they had that idea in the beginning?

FIRST READER: Although the white colonists had won their political independence from England, they very nearly did not agree to form a union of states. A major cause of discord was the status of slaves. Northern spokesmen said that, since Southerners regarded slaves as mere property, they should not be included in the human count to determine representation in Congress. The question was not whether blacks should vote or not--obviously they should not vote--but should they be counted as human beings in the population statistics?

CANDOR: Why should the slaves of South Carolina be counted and not the horses of Massachusetts?

SECOND READER: Southern delegates demanded that Negroes be counted equally with whites so that the number of Southern congressmen would be as great as possible. However, Governor Morris of Pennsylvania said that his people would revolt if slaves were placed on an equal footing with white men. After heated debate, the delegates--white is the color of delegates--reached a compromise.

CANDOR: The compromise was written into the Constitution.

FIRST READER: Representatives shall be appointed among the States according to their population, which shall be determined by adding the number of free white persons, and three fifths of all black slaves, but excluding Indians.

CANDOR: Notice the color red appearing again. Not worth very much, but at least Indians got their name in the Constitution. White was worth one point. Black was worth three-fifths. Red was worth nothing.

That was half of the compromise. The other half dealt with the institution of slave trade. Its opponents had hoped to put an end to it, but South Carolina said it would never accept a Constitution prohibiting the importation of slaves. So, they compromised again.

SECOND READER: The importation of slaves shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808.

CANDOR: In the years between the American Revolution and the Civil War, the demand for cotton fiber increased, and with it the demand for black slaves. Since the Constitution prohibited the importation of slaves after 1807, slave breeding became an approved method of increasing the supply.

FIRST READER: Slave owners had certain male slaves solely for breeding. Planters gave inducements to the black women to have children, the most effective being a promise of freedom when the mother had a certain number of babies. Ten was the usual figure.

CANDOR: Blacks living under this system of human exploitation frequently revolted.

SECOND READER: As many as 250 slave uprisings and conspiracies occurred. All of them were virtually unsuccessful, because white was the color of power. To insure that this system functioned properly, each state had its slave code designed to keep slaves ignorant and in awe of white power. The police power of the states, the state militia and the U.S. Army stood behind these laws. In addition, the slave had to believe he was a slave, so slaves were taught that they were totally helpless and absolutely dependent upon their white masters.

CANDOR: Black became the color of absolute dependency. (Pause)

By the time of the Civil War, we had four million black slaves in the United States. Among other things, the war was fought to change all that.

But the white power structure went to work on the post-Civil War apparatus so that freed blacks couldn't become free men.

FIRST READER: There is the story of the black man who appeared before a committee in the South to register as a voter. He had qualified at Harvard but the civil servant tried to catch him in every conceivable way, producing books in Latin and Greek, but all in vain. Finally, he pushed a Chinese newspaper under the nose of the black man and said: "Now, what does that mean?"

FIFTH READER: (remains seated, reads with animation) It means that you white folks are not going to let me vote.

CANDOR: That's right. White is the color of vote. Black is the color of no-vote. For the past hundred years, these systematic changes were so effective that they barred more than 95% of the blacks from voting, thereby virtually negating the purpose of the bloody sacrifices of the Civil War and nullifying the value of the Constitutional Amendments guaranteeing equal rights.

A man who is not color blind--who sees color very well--has been heard to ask, "What do they want?"

FIFTH READER rises and walks onto the stage, saying in transit:

FIFTH READER: I'll tell you what we want.

FIFTH READER on stage, addresses the following words to CANDOR.

FIFTH READER: We just don't want to belong. We just don't want to join. Okay? (turns and addresses audience) You've set up all the conditions, and then asked us in. No thanks. We don't want the things you want. We don't believe in your values. We couldn't live on your terms.

You say you want to help us. It ain't so, man. You just want to stay on top, and hand out the old welfare and last year's clothes, while we smile and shuffle kind of nice and say, "Thank you, sir." Well, we don't want you on top giving us anything.

You ask us to come in, but if we join your club we'll never be free. We'll never be our own boss. We won't be able to help ourselves.

So count us out. We're going to be playing in our own ball park, with our own rules.

FIFTH READER returns to seat in audience.

PART THREE

CANDOR walks to easel. Removes black chart, places it face down on table. Returns to reading stand.

CANDOR: The final color is brown. It's the color of almonds, and raw sugar. It's the color of the Philippines.

SECOND READER: By the time the United States got into the Spanish-American War, the Filipinos had been fighting a war of independence from Spain for more than six years.

FIRST READER: An independence movement, which began in 1892 with a few thousand laborers and peasants, had grown into a mass revolution with over 250,000 men. When the United States attacked the Spanish fleet at Manila Bay in 1898, the leader of the Filipino patriots and Admiral George Dewey were allies. But the revolutionary government feared that the United States might attempt to replace Spain as the colonial power over the Filipinos, so they proclaimed a Declaration of Independence in the name of the people of the Philippine Islands in June 1898.

SIXTH READER: (remaining seated) The declaration was ignored by the United States, wasn't it?

CANDOR: It seems so. The U.S. Army occupied the area around Manila. While the U.S. Congress debated the merits of granting the Filipinos their political independence and withdrawing our occupying army, hostilities broke out between American soldiers and Filipino nationals in 1899.

When the Filipinos shifted to guerilla warfare, the U.S. Army Commander wired the War Department:

SECOND READER: With the kind of war we are up against now, to secure every town against attack would require more than the present complement of 5,000 combat troops.

SIXTH READER: (remaining seated) That all sure sounds familiar. (Pause) What were we doing there in the first place, in the Philippines seventy years ago?

CANDOR: President McKinley put it this way.

THIRD READER rises and faces the audience.

THIRD READER: The Spanish-American War has brought us new duties and responsibilities which we must meet and discharge as becomes a great nation on whose growth and career from the beginning the Ruler of all Nations has plainly written.

CANDOR: Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, in 1900:

THIRD READER: China is the greatest market of them all. Our trade there is growing by leaps and bounds. Manila--the prize of war--gives us a tremendous advantage in developing that trade.

CANDOR: By 1902, U.S. investors were demanding that the U.S. clear away its restriction on granting franchises for business enterprises and mineral rights in the Philippine Islands.

William Howard Taft, U.S. Commissioner of the Philippines, said:

THIRD READER: The seven million Filipinos are anxiously willing to follow American styles and American customs.

THIRD READER sits down.

SIXTH READER: (remaining seated) That's what we said. What were the Filipinos saying? What about their war for independence?

CANDOR: At the Paris Peace Conference, which was intended to settle the issues of the Spanish-American War, the Filipino delegation sought to present its credentials to the American Commission. They were denied a hearing. The Filipino said:

FIRST READER: We will not permit ourselves or our homes to be bought or sold like merchandise.

CANDOR: The Filipino leaders realized their political independence was in jeopardy, and they disbanded their regular army and shifted to guerilla warfare. But they were up against a formidable enemy. Virtually all of the ranking U.S. military commanders in the Philippines were veterans of the Indian Wars fought on the American Western Plains. The Secretary of War in a speech said:

SECOND READER: Utilizing the lessons of the Indian Wars, our army relentlessly follows the guerilla bands and crushes them.

CANDOR: Search and destroy. That was the tactic. Directives to troops under General J. H. Smith read:

FIRST READER: Every native, whether carrying arms or living in villages, will be regarded and treated as an enemy.

CANDOR: A survey of the conditions of certain regions six months later:

SECOND READER: The area had been a garden spot in the Philippines, covered with fine haciendas of sugar, coffee, tobacco, and rice. Now it is desolate. Ninety percent of the water buffalos--the common work animals in the fields--have died or been slaughtered, rice crops reduced to one-fourth of normal production, and a cholera epidemic is widespread. The area had to be destroyed in order to save it.

CANDOR: And there were massacres.

FIRST READER: In an American infantry assault in March 1906, over 600 Filipino men, women, and children were killed. This massacre caused a wave of protest in the United States, especially when a photograph of the heaped bodies of women and children was printed in American newspapers.

CANDOR: And there were the prisons.

FIRST READER: During the pacification of the Filipinos fighting for their independence, the military jails were jammed with political prisoners. Conditions were appalling, prisoners suffering severe treatment, torture, and starvation. As many as 300,000 Filipinos in one province were driven out of their homes and into detention camps.

CANDOR: Finally, with a volunteer army of 125,000 American troops, and fifteen years of fighting, and hundreds of thousands of Filipinos killed, the Philippine war of independence came to an end. The Philippine Islands became a Pacific outpost and, in 1946, the Philippines signed a treaty with the U.S. permitting America to use military facilities for ninety-nine years.

FIRST READER AND SECOND READER: (in unison) A-men.

CANDOR: (Pause) Well, that's it for the color test. Not all of the colors, of course. There is still a wide variety in the spectrum, like chicano brown, Devlin-Paisley green, ethnic white, yellow peril. But time's up. So, I guess that's it.

SIXTH READER: Wait a minute. We can't let it end there. (Comes up onto the stage from back of the room. Addresses CANDOR) All of these colors are the colors of discrimination and violence. Can't these colors mean anything else? I have a friend who sees other things in these colors--other possibilities. Let me read what he says. (Takes a paper out of coat pocket and reads)

Perhaps the day will come when our nation, distinguished by victories in past wars, and by the highest development of its military science, and accustomed to paying a high price for these things, will finally say, (Pause) "We break our swords." We will dismantle our military machine. We, who have been the best armed, will then be unarmed. We will be armed with a real peace which rests on peace of mind, not the so-called armed peace as it now exists throughout the world. Nations trust neither themselves nor their neighbors. Half from hatred, half from fear, they do not lay down their weapons. Is it not better to perish rather than to hate and be afraid? And better to perish twice rather than force others to hate and fear us?

If we wish to be brothers, we must let the armaments fall from our hands. We cannot love others while we are holding weapons in our arms.

CANDOR: That's nonsense! (Closes book, walks off stage and returns to seat in audience.)

SIXTH READER turns to FIRST READER who closes his book, walks off stage and returns to his seat in audience. SIXTH READER turns to SECOND READER who closes his book, walks off state and returns to his seat in audience. SIXTH READER turns to audience.)

SIXTH READER: Is it? Is it nonsense? (Music stops)

END

Note: It is strongly recommended that sufficient time be allowed at the conclusion of the playlet for group discussion of the issues exhibited. The SIXTH READER should be prepared to lead the discussion.

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TITLE: THE GLOBAL VILLAGE

OBJECTIVE: To reduce the world in proportions so that the group can better grasp the realities of the global village.

LENGTH OF ACTIVITY: Preparation time and a 90-minute period.

GROUP SIZE: At least 30 participants.

MATERIALS:
- Chalkboard/newsprint and supplies;
- Personal profile cards (see Option #2 below);
- Light refreshments.

PREPARATION: To prepare participants for the "Global Village" ask them for estimates of the population of the world (3.5 billion). State that since that number is much too large to deal with, we will shrink the world to a village of 1,000 people.

List the following areas and have the group guess how many people--out of 1,000--would live in each of the areas. Refer to their estimates on page 62 of the Workbook.

North America	(85)
South America	(49)
Europe	(130)
USSR (Russia)	(64)
Asia	(577)
Africa	(95)
	1,000

The figures given above are only rough approximations, so don't be too insistent that the participants arrive at the precise numbers.

Then say that even the number 1,000 is still too large to comprehend, and so we will once again shrink the world--this time to the size of the group. Divide the participants into area groups approximately proportionate to the figures above. With a group of 30 the breakdown would be:

North America	3	(2 rich, 1 poor)
South America	2	(1 rich, 1 poor)
Europe	4	(2 rich, 2 poor)
USSR	2	(1 East European, 1 Russian)

Asia	15 (7 Chinese, 5 Indians, 1 Indonesian, 1 Japanese and 1 other Asian)
Africa	4 (2 poor, 1 representing the white minorities of southern Africa, and 1 representing the Arabian oil interests).

Next you will want to divide these area sub-groups into "interest groups." Have the rich sit together on one side of the room. It is good to heighten the tension right from the start by giving the rich the more comfortable chairs and even, perhaps, some light refreshments. The rich are:

2 people representing the United States and Canada;
1 person from the elites of Latin America;
1 person from the United Kingdom and 1 from France;
2 people from Asia representing business interests in Japan and the Republic of the Philippines;
2 people from Africa representing the interests described above.

Emphasize that these people are rich not only in an economic sense, but more especially in terms of the power they hold and wield within their own areas in the world. They have their differences, to be sure (they are often business competitors, there are variances in the degrees of their wealth and power), but they are joined together in pursuit of common goals and objectives.

The remainder of the participants are classified as poor and powerless. They are crowded into one half of the room and given only a few pieces of furniture and a bit of refreshment to squabble over.

Option #1

At this point in the preparation you could recess and ask the participants playing the different roles to do some research on the areas and interests they will represent in the "Global Village." Have them come back to the game with a personal profile of themselves (see example in Option #2). This profile can be written out on a 4" x 6" index card, or on page 63 of the Workbook. These questions should be answered in the personal profile:

What is your name? (choose a name native to the area)

Describe the general conditions of your life (health, education, and general welfare). How much security do you have?

If you are employed, what is your salary and how much job security do you have? If you are not employed, why aren't you?

What is your estimated life expectancy? What are the chances that an infant child of yours will live to be two years old?

Why are you rich? or Why are you poor?

If you could change one thing about your situation, what would it be?

Option #2

You could prepare the personal profile cards yourself ahead of time using the following model:

Latin American - poor

"I am Juan Lopez. I am married and have five children. My family and I live in a cardboard shack in a little mining town in Bolivia. I was able to go to school for only two years before my father died of tuberculosis and I had to look for a job in the tin mines. I still work in the mines making about one dollar for ten hours of hard, hazardous work. Usually a man can work in the mines for only eight or ten years. Forty years of age is "old age" for me and my fellow workers. Two of my children have died--one in childbirth and one soon after her first birthday. I guess I'm poor because God made me that way. I don't know what to hope for!"

PROCEDURE: When the group reassembles, remind them that the world has been reduced to the size of the room they now occupy. They are the world --with varieties of cultures, nationalities, and interests represented. Caution the participants not to see themselves as elected officials or government representatives, but rather as the people of the areas and interests they represent.

If the group has done its homework (Option #1) and is responsive and creative enough you could begin the "Global Village Exercise" right from this point. Set a time limit and tell them to be the Global Village for that period of time. Let them do whatever they want. Again you might want to heighten the tension between conflicting interests by stipulating that no one from the poor groups may address the entire assembly without permission from "those in charge" (the rich).

If you feel that the group needs more structure in the exercise assign them to a task to be accomplished within the time allotted, such as:

"You are now the occupants of the Global Village. In the next 45 minutes I'd like you to explore the range of answers each of you gave to the questions:

Why are you rich? or Why are you poor?

If you could change one thing about your situation
what would it be?

Then, as a Global Village, I'd like you to arrive at the three most pressing problems that face you all in the last quarter of the twentieth century."

Remind the participants that they are playing roles and that they have interests to protect (national, political, and economic). One shouldn't be too quick to give in to what the group judges to be the "most pressing" problems.

PROCESSING THE EXERCISE: The learnings that can come from the "Global Village Exercise" will depend upon the critical awareness and sophistication of the participants. Playing this exercise after many of the other educational designs and simulations will enable the participants to fill their respective roles more completely and more realistically.

It is good to take notes yourself or assign assistants the role of observers during the exercise. Refer to these notes and observations when beginning the processing.

Encourage the participants to look again at their personal profile cards. What similarities are there with the profiles of others? What differences?

Ask the participants to evaluate their personal performance during the exercise. How realistically did they feel they played their respective roles? Ask them to be critical of the group as a whole. The world was reduced to the size of the group. What did the global village look like? Were they happy with it? What do they judge to be "real" and "unreal" about the village they simulated compared to actual world realities?

TITLE: THE WAR GAME

INTRODUCTION: "The War Game," a role-playing simulation about international conflict, is taken from a "World Without War Weekend" that was designed by the Seattle office of the World Without War Council. The materials in the "WWW Weekend" are intended to acquaint a group of thirty to forty people with the dangers of war and to motivate and enable them to work constructively for a world without war.

A complete description of the weekend experience follows. The weekend begins Friday night with introductory remarks by the staff. Then participants put on a one-act drama. The drama surfaces assumptions about war and peace we so often hear and perhaps believe ourselves.

"There have been wars throughout recorded history. War is human nature. And human nature will never change. You might as well ask the sun to stop."

"There are good economic reasons for war. This world has just so much of the basic necessities for life. Either they get it or we do. Until we solve that, we're going to continue having wars. It's as simple as that."

PLAYING "THE WAR GAME"

Following the one act drama the group divides into two teams to play "The War Game." This is a role-playing simulation game about international conflict. Both sides have a common goal such as securing access to the front door and the fresh air needed by the group in order to survive. Boundaries are drawn up and the two sides elect their respective leaders: Supreme Commanders, deputy commanders, negotiators, religion and morale officers. Soldiers are drafted for combat and fight by arm wrestling or stare-down. "Fate," played by the weekend Director, causes natural catastrophes, calls "combats," and reduces the effective capabilities of each side by his arbitrary actions. The game continues until one side gains the objective or a compromise is reached through negotiation or one Supreme Commander uses his "ultimate weapon."

The game is an analog of commonly accepted social behavior. While acting as military commanders, negotiators, etc. participants learn about the self-limiting nature of roles, the way certain kinds of hierarchical structures lock an individual into a limited number of responses. They learn about the dynamics of international decision making, morale and communications problems, and how individuals operate under stress conditions.

A FILM

After playing "The War Game," Peter Watkins' film, "The War Game," is shown. (Other appropriate films can be substituted.) This feature-length film depicts the outbreak of nuclear war and the chilling consequences suffered by the survivors. After the film the group breaks into small discussion sessions to explore mutual fears, frustrations, and hopes generated by the film and the simulation.

"WEAPONS AND THE THREAT OF WAR"

Saturday morning begins with a three-part script "Huntley-Brinkley" presentation on "Weapons and the Threat of War." "Let's begin our trek into the land of sophisticated slaughter," begins the script, "by considering a few projections of weapons that preserve real estate while disposing of the unwanted population: gas, germs, drugs, and sonics."

"There is also a steady process of miniaturization of these (nuclear) weapons...A bomb approximately of the Hiroshima range could be put in a suitcase."

This lively presentation introduces contemporary and future weapons and the threat they pose to human survival. After the presentation the large group breaks into smaller discussion groups to further explore the implications of modern weapons.

INITIATIVES

In the afternoon the group hears another presentation: "Initiatives--Active Peace Making." Included in this script is a discussion of the role of the citizen in modern society, initiative action that this country could take (such as steps to reduce the arms race) and action individuals and groups can take to move us toward peace.

TOWARD PEACE ACTION

Saturday evening and Sunday morning participants focus on what they can do to end war as individuals and as organization members. Depending on the characteristics of the sponsoring group and its previous experience a variety of projects are considered. By Sunday noon everyone has examined what guidelines and priorities might inform their future actions.

All segments of the weekend are punctuated with free time periods when participants can get to know each other and relax. The weekend is designed to help people experience a sense of community with others concerned about the survival of mankind. The process of building this miniature community teaches everyone about conflict, conflict resolution, accepting human diversity and some of the elements necessary for building a viable world community.

Complete materials for the "World Without War Weekend" cost $10.00 (5 or more, 10% off) and are available from:

World Without War Publications
7245 South Merrill
Chicago, Illinois 60649

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS: The WWW Councils have many readings and other materials to suggest as background preparation for the "WWW Weekend" and specifically for "The War Game." In particular they highly recommend:

To End War - An Introduction to the Ideas, Organizations and Current Books by Robert Pickus and Robert Woito (Chicago: WWW Publications, 1971, 332 pp. $1.50). This comprehensive guide catalogs over 600 bibliographic entries in the war/peace field, introduces 100 peace organizations, offers guidelines for evaluating peace activity, and critically examines fifty-eight war/peace periodicals.

The Power to Keep Peace by Lincoln P. Bloomfield (Chicago: WWW Publications, 1971, 250 pp. $2.95). This paperback provides an historical survey of past U.N. peacekeeping activities, an analysis of the problem, and an outline of specific measures which could be taken to develop an effective international peacekeeping system.

Write to the "Schools Program - WWW Education Fund" for more educational resources.

OBJECTIVE: To illustrate the dynamics of international decision-making, morale and communication problems, and how individuals operate under stress conditions.

LENGTH OF ACTIVITY: 90 minutes for "The War Game" itself. Allow another 90 minutes if you wish to view the film "The War Game" and have discussion afterwards.

GROUP SIZE: 30 to 40 participants and 3 staff members. Staff needed for "The War Game" are:

Two Leaders - one for each side;
One Leader - for the role of "Fate."

If possible assign two leaders or co-leaders to co-"Fate" roles. They are the "eyes and ears of Fate." If extra staff are present, give them roles, door watchers, etc., so all are included.

MATERIALS: -Two loud buzzers, whistles or bells;
-Rope, ribbon, table or some device for separating play area;

-Arm bands or name tags to identify the following players on each team: (a complete set is needed for each side)

Supreme Commander
Deputy Supreme Commander
Military Commander
Negotiators - 2 on each side (1, if small group)
Advisor Communicator - 2 on each side (1, if small group)
Religion/Morale Officer
Soldiers (4 to 6, depending on group size);

-Chart of Play Area (designating the area of combat and placement of negotiation table between separated territories

-One copy of The Role of Fate for use of the staff member playing that role (see p. 165).

-Index cards with the following messages:

TOP SECRET: Contents of this card may not be communicated to the other team members. This is a specific rule for the Supreme Commander or his Deputy, should the latter be required to assume the role of Commander. There must be no deviation from this rule. It is built into the game for several important reasons, including the enforcement of a necessary time limit. The game cannot be allowed to drag on indefinitely.

RULE: The Supreme Commander must blow his whistle to end the game when either of the two following conditions is fulfilled:

1. The Military Commander no longer has effectives to draft to keep up the basic size of the army (four or six as determined at the outset of the game).
2. The Supreme Commander of the other team has blown his whistle. This signified use of the "ultimate weapon."

(Copies of this card are needed by the Supreme Commander and the Deputy Commander on each side.)

The Goal of the Game is to gain access to the great outdoors and clean fresh air.

(One copy of this card is needed for each side. The Goal of the Game can be changed ahead of time by the staff if conditions warrant it.)

FATE: "It is the final duty of Fate to declare that there are no survivors on either team. All are casualties. We will observe one minute of silence in token of this fact."

(One copy of this card is needed for Fate.)

ORDER OF PLAY:

1) Description of Game purpose is announced to the group.
2) Groups are separated into two sides--each side with a staff leader. One group leaves play arena for privacy in organizing sides.
3) Description of Game, conflict and inter-action.
4) Fate begins play by describing his role.
5) End of Game and final role of Fate.
6) Processing.

THE GAME SCHEDULE

Director Explains to Players: This is a group dynamics laboratory effort. Results depend primarily on following the rules carefully and playing the game only according to the rules. For purposes of comparison with other groups which have played this game, there must be a certain standard of performance. This depends upon rigid adherence to the rules. We know this sounds arbitrary, but we're sure you've all played games before and know the many reasons for standardized rules. We must have a standard performance for comparison. We can tell you we will all learn much more from this game if we play by the rules!

Each staff member has a particular and important function in the playing of this game, or in the analysis of the game which we will take up later. We are sharing the game with you. We are not here to "do something" to you.

This whole weekend is designed on a sharing basis. We of the staff expect to get just as much out of our joint effort as each of you may receive. Our aim is to open new avenues of communication, to give us all a better understanding of how a community functions, to show how a smoothly functioning community can improve what we term "communication for survival." Thus, when you play our game, play to win. The harder you play to win, the more we all will gain from our shared experience.

THE GOAL AT ISSUE IN THE GAME is access to the great, clean unpolluted outdoors. (You may choose another more appropriate goal if the arena of combat does not have doors leading outside. BE SURE YOU SPECIFY WHAT WITHIN THE FIELD OF VISION IS THE GOAL. If it is "ACCESS TO THE GREAT OUTDOORS," LEADING OUT SHOULD BE IDENTIFIED AS THE ACCESS ROUTE.)

Following this announcement, participants should be split into two groups. Each group goes with its Staff Advisor to get organized to play the game.

Separation of Groups:

The groups then are physically separated so that neither group can see or hear the other. A staff member goes with each group. This staff member performs several functions:

1) Explaining the rules of play.
2) Building the group feeling.
3) Getting the group organized for the game--all roles filled.
4) Fixing himself firmly into the role of group advisor for the game.

Keep in mind that staff must share full responsibility for the outcome of the game. Otherwise it becomes a staff vs. others situation. The primary purpose of the game is to build a strong emotional identity for the roles which are seen, at the outcome, to be analogous to easily recognized roles in the larger society. The game seeks a breakdown of emotional barriers to re-evaluation of everyday role playing.

The staff advisor explains to his team: The first order of business in the separated groups is the election of a "Supreme Commander."

Staff advisor now opens nominations and closes them unless the group objects too strenuously to arbitrary action. Staff must explain that too much time cannot be taken with necessary organization and the staff member is there as a facilitator.

This election can be speeded up by having nominees face a wall where they cannot see the group and then the group votes by show of hands.

After the Supreme Commander is elected, the Staff Advisor explains all roles and functions in the game to the entire group which the Supreme Commander will command.

Functions of Various Roles - To be Explained to Entire Team:

SUPREME COMMANDER - final arbiter in all team disputes; ultimate decision-maker on questions of tactics and "playing the game to win"; primary spokesman-representative for his team; (it should be explained that Supreme Commander was chosen in a democratic process and this is eminently fair); figurehead for the team--his office must be maintained with a certain dignity.

CHIEF DEPUTY SUPREME COMMANDER - a generalist position unless called upon to take over the supreme position; arbiter in CO cases; "supreme court" in all cases delegated to him by his commander; envoy extraordinary where his commander may designate.

NEGOTIATOR - negotiate with Negotiator from other side with one goal in mind: achieve any advantage he can through negotiation. This rule must be emphasized: Negotiator is there to achieve any advantage he can and which may be exploited either by his Supreme Commander or the Military Commander. Negotiator may not communicate directly with Supreme Commander unless called away from negotiation table to do so. Communication between Supreme Commander and Negotiator is carried on through the Advisor-Communicators.

ADVISOR-COMMUNICATORS - see above, plus: advise Supreme Commander on questions of play; communicate with the "populace" when the Supreme Commander requires it; shield Supreme Commander from distracting contact with other team members.

MILITARY COMMANDER - selects which member of his "army" will compete in each conflict; replaces casualties by using draft power; advises members of army on ways to win; encourages a "play-to-win" feeling; carries out all orders of Supreme Commander as conveyed to him either directly (when called home for consultation) or by Communicators. Whether Military Commander may draft women as well as men is left up to Chief Deputy Commander in consultation with Supreme Commander.

RELIGION/MORALE OFFICER-keeps up team spirit by urging on the players--army or "home-front" and reiterates the "play-to-win" theme which Staff Advisor explains; begins game with a moment of silent prayer.

PLAY TO WIN: Staff Advisor explains to his team that "you have an inherent right to the goal at issue in this game. The other side does not have such a right. This is a primary rule of the game." If asked whether other side is being told the same thing, Staff Advisor should not directly misrepresent, but may say: "They have specific rules for playing the game, but it is necessary for the group-dynamics basis of this game that each team not know the rules given the other side." This information is not volunteered; only explained on demand.

The Supreme Commander now appoints:

-A Chief Deputy who will replace him in the event that he becomes a casualty.

-Negotiator (and an Assistant Negotiator in a team over twenty persons in size).

-A Military Commander.

-Two Advisor-Communicators.

At this point, the Staff Advisor explains the rules of conflict: Conflicts are limited to arm wrestling or stare-down. The choice of which conflict form will be used rests with a staff arbiter who fills the role of Fate. The Military Commander now drafts his "army." This can number from four to six, depending on group size, but should be the same for each team playing the game.

After the draft, the Staff Advisor explains these rules:

1. The Military Commander can draft replacements for his casualties as long as he has effectives in his team population;

2. C.O. status: at the time of the draft selection, a team member may opt for C.O. status. The decision as to whether it will be granted rests with the Deputy Commander. His decision is final. Argument on C.O. status is limited to one minute in each case.

If in actual play a C.O. refuses to play, the other team wins that round by default and the C.O. becomes a casualty.

3. When Fate rules a casualty, that person must go to a position outside the field of play and observe only. He cannot converse with players.

The military commander now appoints a Religion-Morale Officer.

The Staff Advisor now explains to the group that his primary function from that point on is an advisor to the Supreme Commander and the Deputy Supreme Commander. He will no longer communicate with the other members of the team. He should reiterate the "play to win" theme previously stressed, then suggest that the other members of the team take a few minutes exploring their roles while the Staff Advisor privately consults with the Supreme Commander and the Deputy Supreme Commander.

At this juncture, the Staff Advisor, Supreme Commander and Deputy Supreme Commander meet. Staff Advisor shows them the TOP SECRET cards (see above under "Materials.")

Game, Conflict and Inter-Action

The Room where the game is to be played must be split into two territories. DO NOT DIVIDE IT EVENLY. It may be split by a rope, a line of tables, line of chairs, or any other convenient device.

An excellent technique in getting the game started is to keep one team in the play area and send the other some place else for the organization business. The team remaining in the play area is then told it can choose which territory it will defend. If, as usually happens, this team chooses the largest and most comfortable side (often moving furniture for purposes of comfort), the other team, on seeing this situation, gets excellent motivation for playing to win.

When the two teams return to the playing area ready to start the game, "Fate" is introduced. Fate then makes his initial announcement:

> I am the ultimate arbiter of this game. Consider me a "natural force" from which there is no appeal. After all, who's going to argue with a hurricane or the outbreak of a deadly disease, with accidents or assassinations?
>
> To begin, I am hereby instituting the first "natural force" for this game. From this point, no player from either side may speak singly or directly to a player from the other side without becoming an immediate casualty unless the communication goes through accepted channels. The accepted channels are few:
>
> 1. An appointed envoy.
> 2. You may shout slogans and epithets at each other if you do it in concert, that is, together in groups.
> 3. Negotiators are outside this rule, but only when speaking to their opposite numbers.
> 4. As they see fit, the Supreme Commanders may designate functionaries outside this casualty rule, but they do so at the risk of Fate's arbitrary authority.

This Announcement should be emphasized and enforced so that it becomes a "super rule" of the game. Anti-communication is a basic element of the group-dynamics part of the game.

To begin play, team negotiators should be seated facing each other at the negotiating table (or across the ribbon separating the two teams) facing each other. Initially, there may be a period of inaction as people get used to acting their roles.

Fate should not precipitate action too soon (by calling a "conflict") but should allow time for the Supreme Commanders to get their teams moving and involved.

The Role of Fate

For use of the Staff member playing Fate.

KEEP IT MOVING. At the beginning of the game, after a few minutes during which people are trying to get into their roles, he could call a "moment of conflict" which will help heighten tension and strengthen team spirit. Fate is a natural force, and he should play that to the hilt. His actions are entirely arbitrary and there is no appeal from them. He may announce the outbreak of a disease, designating casualties; or a storm, earthquake, famine or other natural disasters that would create casualties on one or both sides. He could incapacitate either Supreme Commander, by illness or assassination. Fate should not interfere for one side or the other, other than to move the game along or to create tension. There is no appeal from a decision or an action of Fate.

It is the role of Fate to declare a "moment of conflict." At a "moment of conflict," each Military Commander must select a combatant. Fate then declares the form of conflict: staredown or arm wrestling.

In no case should Fate become the immediate cause for ending the game. Fate may set up a conflict which sends the game to its end, but should not kill off the last effective in either army by his own arbitrary action. Fate declares the winner of each conflict.

Difficulty of communication between opposed teams should be amplified wherever possible. Fate should keep an ear tuned to negotiations and assassinate a negotiator if matters go too smoothly. Staff advisors should emphasize rumors and threats wherever convenient.

Staff Advisors and Fate's "eyes and ears" (Assistants) should tip Fate to key developments which may require his arbitrary decisions.

Wherever staff does these things, make special note of them and bring them out later to show staff responsibility for the way the game ends. Note at that time the analogous functions in society which work to break down communications and amplify differences.

End of Game and Final Role of Fate

At the end of the game, when both whistles have been sounded, Fate should produce his card and read its message:

> "It is the final duty of Fate to declare that there are no survivors on either team. All are casualties. We will observe one minute of silence in token of this fact."

PROCESSING THE SIMULATION: The "Staff Handbook" for the "World Without War Weekend" offers many suggestions on how to draw the learnings from this simulation especially in the context of the film, "The War Game."

TITLE: HAVES AND HAVE-NOTS

OBJECTIVE: To simulate a community which is divided between the powerful and powerless and allow for the process of change needed to create one community.

LENGTH OF ACTIVITY: Very flexible. Can be 1-1/2 to 24 hours. Best if it includes at least one meal. Allow at least 45 minutes reflection time as separate Red and Green groups, and one hour or more as joint groups.

MATERIALS: Enough red and green sashes so that each Red can wear a red sash and each Green a green sash. Markers and newsprint for the Green group. (If desired, the group can be divided on the basis of eye color or other characteristics.)

PROCEDURE: Divide the participants into two groups, the Greens and the Reds. You may wish to approximate the proportions of rich and poor in the world by placing one-fourth of the total number of participants in the Greens and three-fourths in the Reds.

Communicate to the Green group that they are going to own all property, control all jobs, and control the legal and political systems. They are also able to change or add to any of these rules. You might ask that some of the Greens take on the following offices: Mayor, Chief of Police, President of Chamber of Commerce, Minister/Priest, Municipal Judge, and editor of local paper. The remainder of the Greens may divide themselves into the service or activity they feel they can best represent, that is, Police Department, business, etc.

Communicate the following to the Reds:

1. They are restricted to the worst section of the facility where the group is meeting, i.e., concrete section of basement, smallest room, etc.

2. They must pay 25¢ to a Green to go to the bathroom or arrange credit at 50% interest.

3. They cannot enter Greens' central meeting place under any circumstances, i.e., the living room.

4. They may enter other inside areas which are considered "public," but these areas are controlled by Greens through public agencies (police, highway department, etc.).

5. They cannot go outside without permission from two Greens.

6. They cannot eat except when, where, and how Greens decide.

Indicate to both groups that the task is to form a COMMUNITY OF REDS AND GREENS.

This exercise is extremely open-ended and even risky. It should be attempted only with a group that is creative and mature.

PROCESSING THE EXERCISE: This exercise should be processed on two levels: the personal and the societal.

1. PERSONAL: What were the feelings of the participants? What was it like to not have any power? How were decisions made? What values or beliefs influenced these decisions? What kinds of power were used? How did individuals try to change things?

2. SOCIETAL: On this level attempts should be made to relate the dynamics of the exercise to the structures of society. Who are the powerful and the powerless in society? How are decisions made--in the world, in our country, in our local situation? What are the options for change in society?

TITLE: STARPOWER

INTRODUCTION: "Starpower" is by far the best simulation game available on the market for illustrating the dynamics of power/powerlessness; reform/revolution; competitive/cooperative economic systems; economic/human development; communal/individual advancement; structural/personal change; and many other elements vital to an appreciation of the process of liberation and development.

Participants in the simulation are given poker chips of varying point values. They trade these chips with other participants according to a set of very strict regulations in order to better their own personal scores. Participants are divided into three groups according to how well they are doing in amassing points.

"Bonus chips" introduced into each of the three groups challenge the participants to decide questions such as: What does "winning" mean? Do we aid the highest or the lowest in the group? Are we concerned that the group advance equally or that one individual make it to the top?

After a number of "trading" and "bonus chips" rounds, the highest of the three groups is given the right to change any of the rules in the game. (N.B. This information should not be made known to the group before the simulation begins.) This group (called the "squares" in the game) must then decide how it will use its new-found power.

The participants in the other two groups ("circles" and "triangles") are forced to examine their personal and group reactions to such arbitrary bestowal of power and to the exercise of that power in the succeeding rounds of play.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS: The designers of the simulation suggest supplementary readings in the official set of rules for "Starpower."

Property and Prophets by E.K. Hunt (New York: Harper and Row, 1972) is a short, readable study of "the evolution of economic institutions and ideologies" that is very appropriate for use with more advanced groups in connection with "Starpower." Of particular import with regard to "Starpower" would be Hunt's treatment of the Christian corporate ethic, and the various stages of capitalism and socialism.

OBJECTIVE: To enable participants to experience the workings of a competitively structured society and the dynamics of power and powerlessness.

LENGTH OF ACTIVITY: At least two and a half hours including the playing and processing of the simulation.

GROUP SIZE: 18 to 36.

MATERIALS: The materials necessary for the playing of "Starpower" are described in the Instruction Manual which is available for $3 from SIMILE II, P.O. Box 1023, La Jolla, Ca. 92037. The materials can be purchased in any toy store or from SIMILE II ($25 for a 35-person kit).

PROCESSING THE EXERCISE: The "Starpower" Instruction Manual suggests questions that can be used in the processing of the simulation. The following questions would also be good to reflect on:

1. Why did the rich get richer and the poor get poorer?

2. What happens to individual beliefs in justice and equality when one is placed in a highly competitive structure (such as "Starpower") where survival is to the fittest? Did any of the groups within the game construct an alternative structure--one, perhaps, which rewarded cooperation, equal sharing, and group survival? What were the feelings of individuals within that alternative structure--did they feel that they had surrendered their individuality to the group? What happened to individual initiative, to personal freedom? Did they feel more secure or less?

3. If you had been able to force the "squares" to do one thing for the benefit of all, what would it have been? (Participants are often "distracted" by the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the "squares." They accept this as a given and ask only that the "squares" be more generous or less capricious with them or that they allow the other groups some say in determining the rules of the game. Very rarely will participants insist that all should have the right to determine the rules which govern their lives and so insist that this is what they want from the "squares"!)

4. How did you see the problem in the game and what options did you see for change? How did the game illustrate the relationship between structural and personal change? (Is it enough, for instance, for an individual to become personally less competitive, less selfish and greedy, when the very structures of the game encourage and reward that behavior?) What would a "reformer" have done in this game? What would a "revolutionary" have done? What good does it do to "drop out" of the game (analogously, to "drop out" of society)?

NOTE: To highlight the role of the "change agent" in "Starpower," you might select one or two articulate members of the "square" group, and, at the point in the game when the "squares" are given the right to make the rules, send them down to help the poor "circles" and "triangles." Leave them free to do anything they want from that point on in the game.

5. What are the parallels that can be drawn between the dynamics of "Starpower" and the "real world"?

TITLE: POWERPLAY

OBJECTIVE: This educational simulation is designed to help people identify their power along eight dimensions, experience themselves using those forms of power, and increase skills in using three power strategies: negotiation, coalition-building, and coercion.

LENGTH OF ACTIVITY: Five hours

GROUP SIZE: Although the game can be used with a group of twelve, it is most effective when used with 20 to 45 players.

MATERIALS: A complete package that includes leader's manual, participant manuals for 30, readings, questionnaires, ballots, and related resources is available for approximately $50 from Paul Dietterich, 329 E.School Avenue, Naperville, Illinois 60540.

OVERVIEW: Participants are placed on five different teams. Teams identify their goals for the game in terms of self-interests. Operating in tight time sequences, teams bargain with each other for winning position. Several rounds can be played. Teams are quickly divided into haves and have-nots. Then the power struggle begins.

This is a behavioral simulation, where the behavior of the participants becomes the grist for learning. Persons gain sharp insights into themselves and into how they use--or fail to use--power, how they determine their self-interests, how seriously they take themselves and their goals, how willing they are to use a variety of power strategies in order to accomplish their interests,how skillful they are in using these different power strategies.

"Powerplay" lays a basis for deeper study of power, personal and group, and for increasing skills in the use of negotiation, coalition-building, and coercion.

SECTION FOUR

THE COURSE OF STUDIES

INTRODUCTION

This section contains sample educational programs for use on the secondary school and college levels; a model educational program, "Some Ideas for an Educational Model," developed by the educational division of FAO in Rome; and, a blank educational model which you are encouraged to fill in for your own use.

When you have studied the sample educational programs and models and filled in the motives, objectives, and predispositions of your own educational model, you can begin to outline a course of studies suited to your particular needs. This is the "process." You will have to determine which educational designs (from Section Three) and other resource materials (from Section Five) should be used with your group to move them toward the desired "objectives" --keeping in mind the "motives" for your teaching and the predisposition of all in the group.

As you will note in studyirg the educational designs in Section Three, they move from simple to complex and from subjective perceptions to analysis of objective realities..

The initial exercises (pp.187-221) can be used to give you a feel for the group and to lay bare your predispositions and those of the participants in an atmosphere of warmth and trust. These exercises can be supplemented by other group dynamics exercises (see Section Five, pp. 435-36) to help in the creation of a proper atmosphere. The "values-clarification approach" is extremely useful in surfacing the predispositions of the group. See Values Clarification--A Handbook of Practical Strategies for Teachers and Students. Simon, Howe, Kirschenbaum, eds. (New York: Hart Publishing Co., 1972, $3.95).

SAMPLE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

JUSTICE IN THE WORLD (Secondary School)

These seven educational modules were developed by the Division for Justice and Peace of the U.S. Catholic Conference. A packet containing all the materials necessary for this course is available from them for 50¢.

Most of the modules contain these elements: Teacher Overview, Objectives of the Module, Teacher Activity, a Pre-Test, Backgrounder, Warm-up Exercise, Classroom Activities, and Bibliography.

The name and objectives of each of the seven modules are as follows:

Session One: The Church and the World

Objectives of the module:

1. To examine teacher's present state of knowledge of Church social teaching (Pre-Test).

2. To focus attention on Church's critical appraisal of the world scene (Backgrounder).

3. To study contemporary Church social teaching (Warm-up Exercise).

Session Two: A Global View

Objectives of the module:

1. To contrast U.S. scene with global scene (Pre-Test).

2. To draw parallels between the pockets of U.S. poverty and global poverty (Backgrounder).

Session Three: Three Worlds

Objectives of the module:

1. To identify and differentiate between the three Worlds of development (Backgrounder).

2. To highlight the harsh effect of the development process in the United States as it affected certain segments of the population (Playlet "Every Man My Brother?").

3. To focus on the development process from the point of view of the Third Worlder (Filmstrip "Touring the Third World").

4. To present two widely different views of the same scene (Film study).

Session Four: American Dilemma

Objectives of the module:

1. To highlight critics of the status quo (Pre-Test No. 1).

2. To examine biases about the scope of U.S. global involvement (Pre-Test No. 2).

3. To introduce the paradoxical elements of America's involvement overseas (Backgrounder and Puerto Rico Model).

Session Five: The Right to Develop

Objectives of the module:

1. To examine Synod themes on the right to development (Warm-up Exercise).

2. To question U.S. attempt to control the development process in poorer nations (Backgrounder).

3. To explore the possibilities of and responses to the conflict between the economic interests of the rich nations and the poorer nations' desire to control their own development.

Session Six: American Power

Objectives of the module:

1. To explore the interconnection between the use of military and economic power (Backgrounder No. 1).

2. To experience the dynamics of power (Simulation Game: Starpower).

3. To examine power/powerlessness as it affects the Third World (Backgrounder No. 2).

Session Seven: Charity/Justice

Objectives of the module;

1. To contrast characteristics of charity and justice (Backgrounder).

2. To highlight the arbitrary dimension of present U.S. response to global needs (Pre-Test).

3. To suggest models for action in justice ("The Rent Strike Model" and "The Mexico Model").

Session Seven is reproduced in this Resource Manual (pp. 235-44).

GLOBAL AWARENESS PROGRAM (Secondary School)

The World Justice and Peace Office of the Capuchin Fathers in Milwaukee used many of the educational designs from this Resource Manual in designing a "Global Awareness Program" for grades 7-12. We include below their Introduction and Summary of Objectives. Cross references have been made to the educational designs used from this Resource Manual.

Contact the Capuchin Office for further information on the program, 3900 North 3rd Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53212 (414-264-0800).

Introduction

In their efforts to bring a greater social awareness to the people of Latin America and to move them toward liberating action, scholars and religious leaders have employed a process of education that has helped to achieve a new sense of destiny for the people of Latin America. The process is called "Conscientization." It is a method whereby people look closely at themselves, at their immediate situation and surroundings, at the forms of oppression that touch them and that they lay upon others. In order to understand their immediate situation, they look at the larger structures that surround them. In this process, they are encouraged to understand their own dignity as human beings and the ability they possess to shape their own futures rather than have those futures shaped by the structures that exist and oppress them. Once they understand their own dignity and the power to shape their destinies, they will be moved to act in ways that will serve their own liberation.

In this unit on Global Awareness a modified process of conscientization has been employed. Students are asked to look at themselves, at what they think, believe, need, feel and try to recognize the similarities and differences between themselves and others. The students will be offered ways of looking at the larger social issues, structures and realities of our times. The Christian dimension will then be used to gain deeper insight into the world. This awareness of world affairs and of the students' place in them should lead to freeing attitudes and behavior.

Many of the lesson plans in this unit are made up of activities intended to help the student experience himself and his responses to the needs of other people. These experiential designs are meant to encourage the student to "feel with" the sufferings and joys of real people around the world. For students to develop broader and more sensitive visions of the world, certain attitudes will need to be changed and developed. Since these attitudes are composed of affective and cognitive elements, it is necessary for the teacher to offer meaningful stimulation to both the feelings and the thinkings of the students. The learning designs set up in this unit are meant to combine these elements and respond to the whole student.

Three Sections make up the Global Awareness Unit. In Section I the student will explore and evaluate relationships with others on interpersonal and international levels. Section II explores student perceptions of other people and their lifestyle in contrast to U.S. standard of living. It will also attempt to show how U.S. economic policies and practices contribute to the disparity of wealth in the world. It is crucial that the unit be approached positively or at least end positively. Therefore, in Section III the student will be encouraged to respond creatively to the injustices surrounding him and his fellowman.

The teacher should select, add and/or adapt the suggested objectives and lesson plans that fit the needs of his or her class. In attempting to write one resource unit for such a wide range of grades (7-12), some objectives may be too elementary for senior high classes. Consequently, certain activities should be adapted, skimmed over, or omitted altogether. (For example, senior high teachers may want to start with the Survey of the Global Scene Exercise in Section I and expand and develop Sections II and III). You may also wish to alter the methods for a given objective. Although we urge the teacher to approach the unit with flexibility, it is written with the feeling that it is usable as is.

In order to have the necessary materials and resources available when they are needed for the unit, the teacher may wish to prepare before the program begins and plan to supplement the unit at the following points:

1. At the beginning of the unit ask the students to read one of the following books (most of the below are first person accounts of what it's like to live in poverty).

"What it's like to be poor in developing countries."

de Jesus, Carolina Maria, Child of the Dark, N.Y.: Signet, 1962. 75¢ (Autobiography of a "favelado" in Brazil; a beautiful, revealing book; highly recommended).

Oscar Lewis, Five Families. N.Y.; Mentor, 1959, 95¢ (Anthropologist describes daily life of five typical families of different classes in Mexico in urban and rural poverty).

——————, Children of Sanchez, N.Y.: Vintage, 1961. $2.95 (Culture of poverty in slums of Mexico City. Each member of family tells his own story, and indirectly that of his age group).

———, La Vida, N.Y.: Vintage, 1966. $2.95 (The true story of a Puerto Rican family in the culture of poverty in San Juan and New York's Spanish Harlem).

Kemala Markandaya, Nectar in a Sieve. N.Y.: Signet, 1954. 75¢ (Novel of everyday life of a young girl in a rural village in India).

Pearl S. Buck, The Good Earth. N.Y.: Washington Square Press, 1931. 75¢ (Fictional account of the daily struggles of a peasant family in pre-Communist China).

Alan Paton, Cry the Beloved Country. N.Y.: Scribner, 1950. $1.65 (Beautiful novel set in South Africa which shows the problems of transition from tribal to urban slum life).

Peter Abrahams, Tell Freedom. N.Y.: Collier-Macmillan, 1954. $1.50 (Autobiography of a young man who grew up in a Johannesburg slum).

"What it's like to be poor in the U. S."

Malcolm X with the assistance of Alex Haley, The Autobiography of Malcolm X. N.Y.: Grove Press, 1966. $1.25 (Read part about his early life).

Jonathan Kozol, Death at an Early Age. Boston: Bantam, 1967. 95¢ (Problems of inner city education in Boston school).

Claude Brown, Manchild in the Promised Land. N.Y.: Signet, 1965. 95¢ (Autobiography: growing up in Harlem).

John Steinbeck, Grapes of Wrath. N.Y.: Bantam, 1939. $1.25 (Novel of Oakies migrating to California after the Depression; still accurate description of life of migrant workers).

Eldridge Cleaver, Soul on Ice. N.Y.: Dell, 1967. 95¢ (Select an essay describing the frustrations resulting from poverty).

J. H. Griffin, Black Like Me. N.Y.: Signet, 1961. 75¢ (White journalist who darkened his skin and visited the South describes what it was like).

James Baldwin, Go Tell It on the Mountain. N.Y.: Dell, 1963. 60¢ (Novel about growing up in Harlem).

Elliot Liebow, Tally's Corner. Little, Brown & Co., 1966. $2.25 (Informative study of black streetcorner men).

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, A Time to Listen...A Time to Act. November 1967. 133 pp. 45¢ Write: (GPO) Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 (Voices from the ghettos of the nation's cities--many passages from testimony concerning urban racial problems).

Robert Coles, Still Hungry in America. N.Y.: World Publishers, 1969 (Excellent photos, first hand accounts).

2. After Section I you may wish to play Starpower and after Section II, Baldicer and/or Coffee Game. Starpower simulates the consequences of concentration of wealth and power in a three-tiered society or world. Baldicer is a simulation game on feeding the world's people. Coffee Game illustrates the international systems of aid, trade, and investments by examining the role of coffee in that system. All three simulations are available for use from the Milwaukee Diocesan World Justice and Peace Education Program, 3900 North 3rd Street, (414) 264-0800.

3. Throughout Section II the pamphlet, "Coffee, The Rules of the Game and You," by Thomas Fenton is used for reading assignments. Enough copies for an entire class are available from the Program (see address and phone above).

4. You may wish to order one or more of the following films:

"Earth's Pain and Hell." 27 minutes. 1967. Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 366 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10001. $7. Dramatically contrasts life in the poor nations with life in the affluent U.S.

"The Secret Hunger." 30 minutes. 1963. Food and Agriculture Organization, Liaison Office of North America, 1325 C Street, S.W., Washington, D. C. 20437. Free. Peter Ustinov tells of the problems of hunger, ignorance, and population explosion throughout the world.

"Touring the Third World." Available from Milwaukee Diocesan World Justice and Peace Education Program, (414) 264-0800. A 39-frame, color filmstrip with script designed to assist American Catholics acquire a better understanding of the Third World.

"Who Invited U.S.?" 60 minutes. (two 30 minute reels). 1969. Rental from University of Indiana. $13.50. Documents U.S. involvement in the developing world over the last century.

"End of a Revolution?" 26 minutes. 1968. $25. American Documentary Films. Death of Che in Bolivia, trial of Regis Debray, interviews with U.S. army members and Bolivian government officials. This British film shows U.S. military involvement in counter-insurgency and also guerrilla movements as an attempt to end poverty.

"Miners of Bolivia." 15 minutes. 1969. $12.00. Films Inc. Sub-marginal existence of Highland Indians working in tin mines, contrasts with signs of past wealth and natural beauty of land.

In Section III - B you will need a speaker and/or a film to explore personal commitments some have made to justice.

Summary of Objectives

Exploring and Evaluating the Student's Relations with Others

1. Introductory exercise: Discovering and Clarifying One's Values
   Objective: to help the students discover and clarify some of their values relating to questions on injustice and violence.

2. How Attitudes are Formed
   Objective: to discover some of the ways our attitudes and values are formed.

3. Student Perception of the Self in Community
   Objective: to help the student discover and rank different groups he is a part of, but especially to explore the student sense of identity with the world community.

4. Trusting Others
   Objectives:
   - a. to experience the difficulty of trusting and cooperating with others.
   - b. to extrapolate from these experiences to the difficulty in trusting other peoples and nations.

5. Evaluation of the National System (see above p. 221)
   Objective: to explore the student's perceptions of community in our country--its quality and degree. To explore the student's feelings about the future of community in our country.

6. Survey of the Global Scene (see above pp. 293-96; 339-51; 379-80)
   Objectives:
   - a. to discover the distribution of the world's population in its five major regions.
   - b. to briefly explain the concepts of underdeveloped, development and developed.
   - c. to explore student perceptions of the world's average living conditions.
   - d. to provide an overview of the average living

conditions of the above five regions.
e. to demonstrate how different peoples might interact at a World Conference on Development.

Exploring the Student's Perceptions of Other Peoples and Their Lifestyles

1. Perception Exercise (see above pp. 187-90; 191-200; 209-13)
   Objectives: to demonstrate that:
   a. first impressions can dominate and cloud successive impressions.
   b. people can view the same situation differently.
   c. communication can be difficult.

2. Spaceship Survival (see above pp. 205-07; 201-03)
   Objective: to explore and analyze the student's perceptions of other nationalities in an attempt to surface stereotyping and ethnocentrism.

3. The Rich vs. the Poor (see above pp. 225-27)
   Objectives: a. to describe how most people live in the world.
   b. to contrast the American economic standard of living with the average standard.

4. The Economic Gap Within Underdeveloped Countries (see above pp. 229-33; 245-46)
   Objectives: a. to explore student ideas on why people are poor.
   b. to explore the economic gap between rich and poor within an underdeveloped country.

5. The U.S. and Third World Development (see above pp. 235-44)

   Objective: to explore U.S. economic policies and practices in relation to Third World Development.

6. Global Interdependence (see above pp. 297-338)

   Objective: to explore the concept of global interdependence.

Responding to Injustice

1. Guidelines and Comments from Pope Paul VI

   Objective: to acquaint the students with Pope Paul's vision (and other religious perspectives) on the value of Christian action for change in the world.

2. How Others Have Responded to Injustice

Objective: to explore with the students the personal commitment some have made to justice.

3. How We Can Respond

Objectives:
- a. to discover and respond to injustices affecting us.
- b. to discover and respond to ways that we oppress others.
- c. to explore and evaluate the influence we have.

DEVELOPING NATIONS: THEIR VALUES AND OURS (COLLEGE LEVEL)

The Course is divided into three sections, namely:

1. Are we aware of our own values, perception abilities, possible pre-conditioning and ethnocentrism vis-a-vis the developing peoples of the Third World?

2. What are the nature and terms of the global problem of exploitation of the have-nots by the haves, which is such an earmark of our present world?

3. What directions or thrusts do we see in terms of possible solutions?

Required Reading throughout Course:

Greene: The Enemy
Laurentin: Liberation, Development & Salvation

First Session: Values, Pre-conditioning, Ethnocentrism

1. Introduction to Meaning of Development and Liberation
2. Perception Exercises (see above pp. 187-90; 191-200)
3. "More Than Meets the Eye" Exercise (see above pp. 201-03)
4. Spaceship Survival Exercise (see above pp. 205-07)

Second Session: Preliminary Views of the Global Village

1. Global Village Exercise (see above pp. 293-96)
2. Living on $50 a Year Exercise (*)

Required Reading: The Haslemere Declaration

Third Session: Preliminary Economic Realities in the Global Village

1. Broken Squares Exercise (see above p. 221)

(*) Most of the materials necessary for this course are available in this Resource Manual. For assistance in obtaining

2. Discussion of Myths 1, 2 & 3 in World Justice and Peace (see above pp. 101-04).

Required Reading: World Justice and Peace

Fourth Session: Capitalism in the United States

1. What's in a Dot? Exercise (see above pp. 221).

2. Discussion of Myths 4, 5, & 6 in World Justice and Peace

Required Reading: Frank. The Development of Underdevelopment

Fifth Session: Lecture on Development of Capitalism

From material in Property and Prophets: The Evolution of Economic Institutions and Ideologies, by E. K. Hunt (New York: Harper & Row, 1972. 184 pp. $2.95)

Required Reading: Haag. New System of Values Makes Sense (*)

Sixth Session: Capitalism Experienced

Starpower Exercise (see above pp. 379-80)

Seventh Session: A Look at the Commodity of Coffee

1. Coffee Game Exercise (see above pp. 297-338)

2. Discussion of the international trade and control of coffee

Required Reading: Fenton. Coffee

Eighth Session: A Look at the Multi-National Corporation

1. Corporation Design Exercise (*)

2. Discussion of the multi-national corporation phenomenon in South Africa

Required Reading: The U.S. Corporation in South Africa
Gulf Position Paper on Angola

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other materials particularly those marked with an asterisk, contact the Maryknoll Missioners, 50 Dunster Road, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts 02167.

Ninth Session: Power Realities within a Developing Country: Case: Colombia

1. Film: *A Problem of Power* (see below p. 447)
2. Haves and Have-nots Exercise (see above pp. 365-66)
3. Discussion of Internal Power Realities

Tenth Session: Educational Realities within the Global Village

1. Explanation of "Conscientization" (From Freire)
2. Film: *Journey of Fabio Pacchioni* (see below p. 447)

Required Reading: Freire. *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*: Chapters 1 & 2

Eleventh Session: The Chinese Experiment

1. Role Play from the Chinese Opera: *The White-Haired Girl*
2. Discussion of the other materials in the *China Pac*

Required Reading: All materials in the *China Pac*

Twelfth Session: Tanzania under Socialism

1. Film: *Of People and a Vision* (from Maryknoll, see p. 444)
2. Discussion of the comparison between East African and North American values

Required Reading: Nyerere. *Division Is the Problem of the Third World* (see above pp. 87-98). Lystad. *The American and African: A Comparison of Images*.

Thirteenth Session: Post-Revolutionary Cuba and Chile

1. Film: *Campamento* (see below p. 446)
2. Discussion of the quality of life under Castro socialism

Required Reading: Boorstein. *Cuba and Imperialism*
Butler. *Cuba's Revolutionary Medicine*
Letter from Concerned U.S. Missioners in Chile

READINGS

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Louis J. Haag. "New System of Values Makes Sense," Church World, August 25, 1972.

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Michael Novak. A Theology for Radical Politics. New York: Herder & Herder, 1969.

Julius Nyerere. Division is Problem of Third World. Lecture delivered October 16, 1970. Maryknoll, New York.

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Michael Tanzer. The Sick Society. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971.

A MODEL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

The following outline could be helpful to you in the practical planning of your education for justice course of studies. The outline was developed by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the U.N. in Rome. It is reprinted here with their permission.

SOME IDEAS FOR AN EDUCATIONAL MODEL

The following ideas could be helpful in the practical planning of education about development issues at all levels. Four aspects of such teaching should be carefully thought out:

Motives:	(reasons why such issues should be introduced in schools)
Objectives:	(specifically what can be done at different levels of education--what attitudes are to be worked for, what abilities, what knowledge, what action is to follow)
Predispositions:	(what do pupils already have by way of notions, prejudices, etc., relevant to development issues; what do teachers themselves have by way of attitudes, knowledge, etc.)
Process:	(what specific techniques, tactics, materials could be used in the classroom to move toward the desired "objectives"--keeping in mind the "motives" for such teaching and the predispositions of both pupils and teacher)

While background "motives" are much the same for teaching at all age levels, the emphases of "objectives," "predispositions," "process" do vary greatly depending on the age, academic ability, socio-economic background, etc., of the young people involved. Following are some of the possible "objectives," "predispositions," "processes." Each teacher should think of his or her own group of young people when filling out such a model for his or her own teaching situation.

MOTIVES

"Underdevelopment" in the world today has its roots in the structure of world society. The consequences of underdevelopment are visible enough--hunger, illiteracy, massive unemployment, etc. The causes are more complex. If the social injustices of the world are to be corrected, then people must learn about these causes and what they can do to change things. This means an attitude of social awareness and responsibility that must begin in the early years of a human's life. The school has an important role in encouraging this attitude.

OBJECTIVES

Attitudes:

Primary level (approx. ages 6-12):

- positive feeling toward other life styles, people living in different countries, in different circumstances;
- respect for the ideas, opinions, rights of people;
- discerning attitude toward information and its source.

Secondary level (approx. ages 12-18)
(in addition to the above attitudes could be added):

- critical attitude toward the world leading to judgments about specific situations;
- sense of responsibility for making the changes needed in world society;
- feeling that as an individual and as part of a group one can contribute (and should contribute) to improve world society.

Abilities:

Primary level:

- ability to find new information and compare it with what is already known;
- ability to relate people's behavior with their background circumstances;
- ability to recognize a conflict situation and see the differing interests involved;
- some beginning ability with other languages.

Secondary level (in addition to the above abilities could be added):

- to see concrete examples of abstract concepts such as "human rights," "justice" and to note violation of such concepts both within their own society and on a world scale;
- to evaluate mass media and other information sources... what bias does it have? what has not been said?
- to develop a critical criteria for choosing one source of information over another;
- to realize there are different explanations for the present nature of world society, e.g. Liberal, Marxist, etc.;
- to feel free to change one's opinions and adjust one's position as new information suggests.

Knowledge:

Primary level:

- knowledge of how people live in other countries according to their culture, traditions, etc.;
- knowledge that there are rules and structures in society but that these can be changed.

Secondary level (in addition to the above knowledge could be added):

- knowledge of the complexity of development issues--web of economic, social, political, technical, etc.;
- knowledge of the causes as well as the consequences of underdevelopment;
- knowledge of the negative as well as the positive aspects of the interaction of their country with other parts of the world;
- knowledge of what can be learned from developing countries, e.g., values, culture, social goals, etc.
- knowledge of what pupils personally could contribute by way of skills, overseas service--and a sense as well of the limitations of this kind of contribution;
- knowledge of the inequalities and tensions within the

pupils' own society as well as those of the world;

- knowledge that pupils' own comforts and standard of living is boosted by what comes from the underdeveloped areas of the world.

Action: Primary level:

- some positive link, communication with the Third World.

Secondary level:

- efforts toward educating the public (exhibitions, film shows, street drama, etc.);
- efforts toward influencing policies of their own government in aid, trade.

PREDISPOSITIONS

Primary level:

- may be mixed predisposition toward what is unfamiliar (curiosity, fear, dislike, etc.);
- may be strong predisposition of loyalty to family, country, own style of living;
- may be strong sense of own possibilities, own success or failure within own society, own social role;
- may be prejudice toward minority groups, immigrant groups;
- may be confusion of information from television, etc. about the world;
- may be tendency to regard teacher and textbook as right in every case.

Secondary level (in addition to the above predispositions could be added):

- may be a predisposition to regard lack of success as a personal failure, taking no account of the structures of society in which an individual lives;
- may be a predisposition to believe that fighting underdevelopment is a matter of changing other peoples to be similar to ourselves;

- may be predisposition to believe that "aid" is helping other people that are "weaker," less able to look after themselves;
- may be predisposition to see "civilization" as synonymous with the kinds of objects and values pupils see close around them;
- may be predisposition to feel very small within society, powerless to change things;
- may be predisposition to feel that the individual must at all costs get ahead personally (regardless of what this means for others around him and far away).

Teachers themselves of course have many predispositions, their own notions and prejudices about the world from the way they were taught. A teacher would do well to think about his own predispositions as well as those of his pupils.

PROCESS

Primary level:

- begin skills of comparing, evaluating, judging (the class itself is a good beginning point of differences and similarities);
- consider techniques such as "simulations" to explore conflict situations, differing interests. Also consider simulations and role-playing to show that rules in games can be unfair, that rules can be changed;
- bring materials into the classroom that give some feeling for how people in other countries live, how they work, what they value, etc. (could well include people from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and their crafts, etc.);
- include pupils in planning and evaluation of topics.

Secondary level (in addition to above techniques could be added):

- use a wide variety of source material. (Pupils thus have a better chance to note differences between what is said and implied in newspapers, by UN Agencies, textbook writers, etc.);
- get away from sweeping generalizations about Asia, Africa, and Latin America. (The case study approach is suggested

relating a World Bank speech in Washington to its specific meaning for, say, a peasant farmer in a particular country.);

- emphasize the very great effort coming from the Third World itself. (Material like the Arusha Declaration, National Development Plans can put "aid" in its perspective as only a part of a wide effort...could look for contradictions between what the Third World itself is trying to do and the kind of "help" coming from the developed nations.);

- try to link material that pupils learn outside school about the world to information presented within school;

- explore the possibility of cooperating with other subject areas in presenting as wide a picture as possible of these complex issues;

- encourage pupils to find information for themselves and not just accept what teacher and textbook say;

- consider a study of commodities coming from Asia, Africa, and Latin America as they relate to nearby industries, local shops. What do nearby industries sell to Asia, Africa, Latin America? Prices? Protection? Competition? Labor costs?

- take advantage of first-hand experiences that people have had (returned volunteers, people from the Third World within your country, etc.)--keeping in mind that this be presented as a "viewpoint." (May contact people about to go abroad and establish ongoing communication with class while they are overseas);

- get away from one-day involvement (e.g., "Third World Day") or other short, quick approaches that may suggest to pupils that the issues are simple;

- resist fundraising unless it flows from the involvement of pupils in the issues--and unless it makes direct sense to what the pupils are studying and the priorities they see as important.

EDUCATION FOR JUSTICE: A COURSE OF STUDIES

DEFINITION: From the background readings and other resource materials you have studied, how would you now define education for justice?

MOTIVE: Why are you introducing the subject of justice into your educational programming (religious education, social studies, etc.)?

OBJECTIVES: For the particular level you are working on (primary, secondary, adult education, etc.), what are your specific educational objectives (attitudes, abilities, knowledge), and what action do you hope will accompany and flow from this course of studies?

Attitudes:

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-
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Abilities:

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-
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Knowledge:

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Action:

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PREDISPOSITIONS: How do you think that the participants in your program already feel about the issues of justice you intend to study? List a variety of these issues and write next to each a one-word guess as to how the group will see that issue.

ISSUE	PREDISPOSITION OF THE GROUP
-	
-	
-	
-	

In your reading and study of the materials in this Resource Manual what are the predispositions you find in yourself about the subject of justice? Look back at the Pre-Test you took in Section Two. Would you change any of your responses now?

Indicate your predisposition toward each of the following pairs of tensions by placing a mark on the continuum in the direction of your preference.

For the most part I intend to use:

DESCRIPTIVE MATERIAL - - - - - - - - ANALYTICAL MATERIAL

EXPRESSIONS OF THE IDEAL - - - - - - - - EXPRESSIONS OF THE REALITY

SUBJECTIVE PERCEPTIONS OF REALITY - - - - - - - - OBJECTIVE DESCRIPTIONS OF REALITY

I see the world divided between:

UNITED STATES and the THIRD WORLD - - - - - - - - CLASSES OF RICH AND POOR

On the whole I am more comfortable with:

REFORMIST CHANGES - - - - - - - - REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES

PERSONAL CHANGES - - - - - - - - STRUCTURAL CHANGES

THE CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT - - - - - - - - THE CONCEPT OF LIBERATION

CHARITY - - - - - - - - JUSTICE

ECONOMIC REFORMS - - - - - - - - POLITICAL CHANGES OF WEALTH AND POWER

PROCESS: With all of the above in mind and with the resources in this Manual in hand you are now in a position to outline a course of studies for your education for justice program.

For each session it is recommended that you clearly define the purpose of that particular session, find a way of surfacing the predispositions of the group, choose an educational design, film or discussion topic that meets your objectives, determine how you will evaluate what progress there has been, and list materials that you and the group will need for the next session.

SECTION FIVE

RESOURCES

The following selection of books, films, simulations and other resources represents a general, popular introduction to the field of education for justice. Wherever possible information is given to help you in the building of your own resource library.

BOOKS

All of these books are available in paperback unless otherwise noted. An asterisk signifies a readable, introductory work in each area.

As noted below, the bibliography World Development: An Introductory Bibliography is an excellent complement to this collection of resources.

1. DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION/ACTION PACKETS

Action Communications. A how-to guide with five sections dealing with curriculum ideas, multimedia presentations for community groups, local resources, and involvement through action. Canadian Council for International Co-operation, 75 Sparks Street, Ottawa, K1P 5A5 Canada. Price: $2.

Community Encounter: Programme Models for the Community. A 49-page booklet with program and action ideas related to international development and the local community. Canadian Council for International Co-operation (address above). Price: $2.

The Christian and World Development. A 6-unit discussion outline prepared by Hazel T. Johns containing background, practical steps for discussion leaders, excellent biblical references, bibliography. Some pamphlets and discussion starters are included in the packet. Division of World Service, United Church Board for World Ministries, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027. Price: $2.

Development: Bridge to Peace. A flexible unit for use in a school curriculum or in an off-campus seminar. There are 39 pages of resources and a syllabus dealing with both domestic and world poverty. Included are lists of organizations, books, movies, and suggested classroom activities. American Freedom from Hunger Foundation (AFFHF), 1717 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Price: $1.50.

Development Education Exchange and Ideas and Action Bulletin. These two publications from the Education and Information Unit of the Freedom from Hunger Foundation are excellent collections of ideas and resource materials for development education and action. Write to FFHF, c/o FAO, Via delle Terme di Caracalla, 00100 Rome, Italy, for further details.

Development: New Approaches. The April 1972 issue of Intercom is a teaching guide on development with sample lessons, resources, bibliographies, and a description of organizations concerned with development. Available from the Center for War/Peace Studies, 218 E. 18 Street, New York, N.Y. 10003. Price $1.50.

The Development Puzzle. A loose-leaf collection of resources for teaching about the divisions between rich and poor in today's world. Two supplements (1972 and 1973) are available. Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development (VCOAD), Parnell House, 25 Wilton Road, London SW1 V1LY England. Price: $3.50 (approx.).

Global Development Series. A trial curriculum designed for students in grades 11-14. Available free from the Management Institute for National Development, 230 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.

The Handwriting Is on the Wall. A 46-page world development primer containing writings from Nyerere, Goulet, Illich, the Paddocks, and others. World Neighbors, 5116 N. Portland, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73112.

Hunger and Development Issue Packet. Resource materials and a bibliography compiled by Young World Development. YWD has also published a "Population and Development Issue Packet." 1972. AFFHF (address above). Price: $2 each.

The Hungry Millions: A Textbook on World Development. Twelve chapters, each by a different author, consisting of an essay, charts, suggested readings and topics for discussion and further research. 1971. 80 pp. Prepared by the Workers' Educational Association of OXFAM, England. Distributed in North America by OXFAM-AMERICA, 474 Centre Street, Newton, Massachusetts 02158. Price: $1.

Justice in the World. A loose-leaf primer for U.S. teachers composed of seven teaching modules on underdevelopment seen as domination and oppression. Also: pre-test and background material, suggestions for classroom activities, and a bibliography. 1973. Available from the Division for World Justice and Peace, USCC, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Price: 50¢.

The Process of Underdevelopment in Asia, Africa and Latin America. A course on the problems of development in the Third World intended for use in senior grades of high schools. 1971. The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 252 Bloor Street West, Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada. Write for current price.

Projects on World Poverty for Secondary Schools. A collection of about 15 classroom projects on world poverty, prepared by Oxfam's Education Department. It is suggested that the projects should be taught as part of an Integrated Studies programme, and opportunities for personal action and involvement are suggested as part of each project. There are extensive reading and reference lists. 24 pp. OXFAM, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford, OX2 7DZ, England. Price: 50¢

Target: Development Action. A practical guide for action/education projects in local communities, to bring issues to attention and to stimulate personal commitment. References to film series, teach-ins, simulation games, etc. AFFHF, 1717 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Price: $1.50.

Teachers' Guide Package. A package of materials designed to stimulate international development thinking in elementary school students. Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace, 67 Bond Street, Room 305, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Write for current price.

Ten Days for World Development. A packet of materials that was prepared in 1973 for a ten-day development education program in Canada by the Relief and Development Agencies of a number of Canadian Churches. It might offer some program ideas for other groups. Write to the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace (address above) for information.

The Time is Ripe...The Stage is Set. A collection of educational sheets on international development prepared for teacher and student use at the senior high school level. Covers definitions of development, analyses of the problems of Third World countries, and alternatives to western patterns of commerce. The Development Education Centre, 200 Bedford Road, Toronto 180, Ontario, Canada. Price: $2.

Towards a Transformed World. A study/action kit treating five themes: aid, trade, education, unemployment, and "what is our world really like?". The folder also contains maps, statistical data, a sample survey "Canada and the Rest of the World," and a poster. Write to the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace (address above) for current price.

2. EDUCATION/ACTION PACKETS WITH AN AREA FOCUS

The Americas. Contains readings, resources, action suggestions. 1970. Committee on Education for Mission, The United Church of Canada, 85 St. Clair Avenue E, Toronto 7, Canada. Write for current price.

The Americas Today. A packet of contemporary studies on the critical issues facing church and society in the Western hemisphere. Prepared by the Latin America Department, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027. $2.

Chile: Unmasking Development. A resource kit and organizing packet which examines the question of development in the context of Chile. 1973. 149 pp. Available from Common Front for Latin America (COFFLA), 1500 Farragut Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20011. Price: $2. each. Bulk rates on request.

China Pac. John Eagleson and Thomas Fenton (eds). An up-to-date flexible teaching resource on the People's Republic of China. Includes background readings, classroom activities, and resources. 1971. Orbis Books and Friendship Press, Maryknoll, N.Y. 10545. Leader's Guide, $1; Student Edition, $4.95 (less in bulk).

Cuba--100 Years of Struggle. Contains sections on history, the revolution life in Cuba today, and suggestions for action. 1970. Cuba Project, Rm. 10 A, Church Center for the U.N., 777 U.N. Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017. $2.

Dominican Republic: Oppression and Struggle. An organizing packet on the struggle of the Dominican people against dictatorship and U.S. domination, big business and dependency, underdevelopment and repression. 1973. 104 pp. Available from COFFLA (address above). Price: $2 each plus postage. Bulk rates available.

La Lucha--Contemporary Issues in Latin America. An excellent collection of readings and one of the most practical and complete popular bibliographies on Latin America available. Ideally suited for student background materials on the senior high level. 1973. Orbis Books, Maryknoll, N.Y. 10545. $1.95.

Latin America--A Dossier. A dossier designed to help study groups at the university level to have a lively and useful discussion on the key issues of Latin America, as seen through the eyes of progressive Latin Americans. 1972. Canadian Council for International Cooperation, 75 Sparks St., Ottawa 4, Canada. $3.

Puerto Rico: Showcase of Oppression. Contains six booklets treating history, development, politics, religion, culture and the Culebra incident. 1971. Latin American Publications Service, Box 12056, Mid City Station, Washington, D.C. 20005. $2.50.

3. INTERNATIONAL/GLOBAL EDUCATION

Global Dimensions in U.S. Education. A series of four pamphlets, about 50 pages each, which present a rationale, summary of current research, and practical suggestions for teaching units. Each pamphlet is devoted to one level of education: the university, secondary school, elementary school, and the community. Center for War/Peace Studies, 218 E. 18 Street, New York, N.Y. 10003. $1.50 each.

International Dimensions in the Social Studies, James M. Becker and Howard D. Mehlinger (eds). The 1968 Yearbook of the NCSS contains an overview of the problems and challenges of education in international affairs. Discusses methods for approaching world affairs and surveys the various world organizations. (Cf. also "International Education for the Twenty-First Century," an entire issue (November 1968) of Social Education, the journal of the NCSS, devoted to this subject.) National Council for the Social Studies, 1201 - 16 Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20026. $4.50.

4. DEVELOPMENT/LIBERATION

The Cruel Choice: A New Concept in the Theory of Development by Denis Goulet (New York: Atheneum, 1971) (hardback) An ethical study of economic and social aspects of development.

Development in a Divided World, edited by Dudley Seers and Leonard Joy (Baltimore: Penguin, 1971) $2.45. An excellent collection of readings.

For White America: Perspectives on Development and Social Change. A special issue of Cross Currents, Fall 1968, Vol.XVIII, No. 4 (West Nyack, N.Y.) with articles by Goulet, Nyerere, Coutinho, Terrill and others. $1.25.

From Facts to Acts (and Back) by Pat McGeachy (New York: Friendship Press, 1973). $1.95. A 24-page "experience manual" designed for the use of church groups studying the themes of justice, liberation, and development. Focuses primarily on the personal dimensions of these themes.

The Great Ascent: The Struggle for Economic Development in Our Time by Robert L. Heilbroner (New York: Harper and Row, 1963). $1.60. A popular and readable presentation of issues of development.

Partners in Development. Lester B. Pearson, Chairman (New York: Praeger, 1969). $2.50. The report of the Commission on International Development on aid, trade, and international monetary policies.

Readings in Development (Three Volumes) edited by Sallery, McDonald, and Duchesne. A collection of writings primarily from the Third World on issues of development, aid and trade, multinational enterprises, and the military-industrial complex. Available for $5 a volume from the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), 151 Slater Street, Ottawa 1, Ontario, Canada.

Three Worlds of Development by Irving L. Horowitz (New Jersey: Oxford University Press, 1972, Second Edition). $2.95. Criticizes many current theories of development and makes new propositions for achieving the goals of world development.

World Development: An Introductory Reader edited by Helene Castel (New York: Macmillan, 1971). $1.95. A varied collection of articles on the subject.

5. IMPERIALISM

The Age of Imperialism by Harry Magdoff (New York: Modern Reader, 1969). $1.95. The economics of U.S. foreign policy--financial, aid and trade policies; contains good graphs and statistics.

The Enemy by Felix Greene (New York: Vintage, 1971). $1.95. An excellent popular presentation of the dynamics of imperialism.

Imperialism and Underdevelopment: A Reader edited by Robert Rhodes (New York: Modern Reader, 1970). $3.95. Thirteen selections with a good bibliography.

Readings in U.S. Imperialism edited by K.T. Fann and Donald C. Hodges (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1971). $3.95. A fine collection of readings and a four-page bibliography.

6. U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Containment and Change by Carl Oglesby and Richard Shaull (New York: Macmillan, 1967). $1.45. Two dissenting views of American society and foreign policy.

The Free World Colossus by David Horowitz (New York: Hill and Wang, 1971). $2.45. A history and critique of U.S. foreign policy in the Cold War.

Intervention and Revolution by Richard Barnet (New York: World Publishing, 1968). $2.95. The history of America's confrontation with insurgent movements around the world.

The Limits of Power by Joyce and Gabriel Kolko (New York: Harper and Row, 1972). 820 pp., $15 (hardback). A weighty and scholarly chronicle of American empire-building from the end of World War II through the Truman years to 1954 and the accession of Eisenhower.

A New Isolationism: Threat or Promise? by Robert W. Tucker (Potomac Associates, 1973). 127 pp., $2.25. Examines the history and present-day perils and benefits of isolationism.

7. WAR AND PEACE

Just War and Pacifism--A Catholic Dialogue edited by James R. Jennings (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Catholic Conference, 1973). 78 pp., 50¢. A frank and honest dialogue between conflicting points of view in the Catholic community.

The Power to Keep Peace by Lincoln P. Bloomfield (Chicago: WWW Publications, 1971). 250 pp., $2.95. Provides a historical survey of past U.N. peacekeeping activities, an analysis of the problem and an outline of specific measures which could be taken to develop an effective international peacekeeping system.

To End War--An Introduction to the Ideas, Organizations and Current Books by Robert Pickus and Robert Woito (Chicago: WWW Publications, 1971). 332 pp., $1.50. This comprehensive guide catalogs over 600 bibliographic entries on the war/peace field, introduces 100 peace organizations, offers guidelines for evaluating peace activity, and critically examines 58 war-peace periodicals.

Workbook to End War by Network to End War (Philadelphia: AFSC Peace Literature Service, 1973). 143 pp., $1.25. Resources, programs, and suggestions on how to influence national policy. Written especially for use in local churches and synagogues.

8. THE CHURCHES AND DEVELOPMENT/LIBERATION

Between Honesty and Hope (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1970). $2.95. A collection of documents from and about the Church in Latin America issued by the Peruvian Bishops' Commission for Social Action.

The Church and Revolution by Houtart and Rousseau (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1971). $3.95. The Church's response to revolutions throughout history--from the French Revolution through Latin America, Africa, Vietnam, to France in 1968.

The Church, Change and Development by Ivan Illich (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970). $2.45. Selected essays and articles from the writings of Ivan Illich.

The Church in the Present-Day Transformation of Latin America In Light of the Council. Two volumes of the papers and conclusions of the Latin American Bishops' Meeting at Medellin, Colombia in 1968. Available from the Latin American Bureau of the USCC, 1430 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

The Development of Peoples. The encyclical letter of Pope Paul VI on world justice and peace is available in these editions: (1) with a commentary by Barbara Ward from Paulist Press, Glenrock, N.J., 1967; (2) a creative translation from the original French from Claretian Publications, Chicago, Illinois, 1968; and (3) a simplified version "This Is Progress" from the Justice and Peace Commission, 44 Grays Inn Road, London, WC 1 X8 LR England.

In Search of a Theology of Development: A SODEPAX Report (Geneva: SODEPAX, 1969). $1.50. Papers from an ecumenical consultation on Theology and Development held by the Committee on Society, Development and Peace (SODEPAX) in Switzerland in 1969.

Justice in the World. The Roman Synod's 20-page booklet is available from the U.S. Catholic Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. 1971.

Latin America in Search of Liberation edited by Gary MacEoin. A special issue of Cross Currents (West Nyack, N.Y.) devoted entirely to contemporary issues in Latin America. 1972. $1.50.

Liberation, Development and Salvation by Rene Laurentin (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1972). $5.95 (hardback). The impact of the Third World on Christian theology.

Line and Plummet: The Churches and Development by Richard Dickinson (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1968). $1.80. The role of the Churches in international development.

The Radical Bible adapted from the German Bibel Provakativ by John Eagleson and Philip Scharper (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1972). $1.95. The gospel's radical message of social justice juxtaposed with voices from the Third World describing their reality.

A Theology of Liberation by Gustavo Gutierrez (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1972). $4.95. A challenging presentation of the theology of liberation by its leading exponent.

The Violence of a Peacemaker: Dom Helder Camara by Jose de Broucker (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1970). $4.95 (hardback). An engaging portrayal of one of the most controversial bishops in Latin America.

World Development: A Challenge to the Churches edited by Denis Munby (Cleveland: Corpus Books, 1969). $2.95. The Official Report, conference papers, and supporting documents from the 1968 Beirut Conference of SODEPAX.

9. INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

The Pillage of the Third World by Pierre Jalee (New York: Modern Reader, 1968). $1.75.

The Political Economy of International Oil and the Underdeveloped Countries by Michael Tanzer (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970). $3.95. A clear description of the dynamics of international systems through the use of one commodity, oil.

The Third World in World Economy by Pierre Jalee (New York: Modern Reader, 1969). $2.95. Both books by Jalee offer a popular study of the costs of underdevelopment; excellent statistics.

10. ECONOMIC THEORY

Economics: An Introduction to Traditional and Radical Views by E.K. Hunt and Howard J. Sherman (New York: Harper and Row, 1972). 647 pp., $10. An excellent, popularly readable economics textbook that treats, in its four main sections: (1) the evolution of economic institutions and ideologies; (2) prices and poverty a radical introduction to microeconomics; (3) unemployment and waste: a radical introduction to macroeconomics; and (4) socialist economic systems: a radical introduction to comparative economics.

Property and Prophets: the Evolution of Economic Institutions and Ideologies by E.K. Hunt (New York: Harper and Row, 1972). 184 pp., $2.95. These first twelve chapters of Economics: an Introduction to Traditional and Radical Views by Hunt and Sherman combine a brief review of the evolution of some of the most important institutions of capitalism with analyses of recurring ideological defenses of capitalism and radical critiques of capitalism. A unique feature of the book is the method of interweaving economic history and intellectual, or ideological, history.

11. AID AND TRADE

Aid as Imperialism by Teresa Hayter (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1971). $1.45. A critique of the role of 'multilateral' aid-giving agencies such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, etc.

The Myth of Aid by Goulet and Hudson (New York: IDOC, 1971). $2.95. A radical critique of the various reports on development and a study of how foreign aid is used to domesticate the Third World.

Trade for Justice--Myth or Mandate? by Marion Gallis (Geneva: World Council of Churches--CCPD, 1973). $2. Written on behalf of the Churches' Commission for Participation in Development. An in-depth analysis of the major issues in international trade from the point of view of the developing countries and the extent to which the improvements requested by them--if eventually met--would in fact contribute to their own economic growth, self-reliance and social justice.

Unequal Exchange: A Study of the Imperialism of Trade by Arghiri Emmanuel (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972). $4.95. A rather technical study of the dynamics of trade in the world economy.

12. U.S. SOCIETY

Poverty and Justice: An Adult Education Handbook. Provides practical techniques, models and thematic development strategies for designing education sessions on poverty and justice. Available for $2.50 from the Campaign for Human Development--USCC, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Poverty and Justice in America: A Manual for Elementary and Secondary Education. A flexible, developmental guide for learning sessions in social justice, designed to assist teachers and students in evaluating their attitudes about poverty, racism and social injustice and to initiate a process of curriculum change by providing concrete suggestions for positive action, both personal and communal. Prepared by and available from the Campaign for Human Development (address above). 1973, 39 pp., $1.50

Poverty Profile. An in-depth study of poverty in America--the statistics and the people who make up the poor in the world's most affluent nation. Campaign for Human Development--USCC (see address above). $1.

The Sick Society by Michael Tanzer (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971). $2.95. A popular analysis of the workings of the capitalist system in the United States.

Sourcebook on Poverty, Development and Justice. A collection of essays exploring various aspects of the question: What does it mean in the United States to be a Christian, carrying out the social mission of the Church? Campaign for Human Development--USCC (see address above). $1.50.

Up Against the American Myth edited by Christoffel, Finkelhor and Gibang (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970). $4.95. A radical critique of corporate capitalism based upon a Harvard University Social Relations course. Readings and a selected bibliography.

Wealth and Power in America by Gabriel Kolko (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1962). $2.25.

Who Rules America? by William C. Domhoff (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967). $2.45.

See also the literature from and about the Third World groups in the United States: the native Americans (Indians); the blacks; Puerto Rican and Mexican-American communities; and others.

13. OTHER SIGNIFICANT BOOKS

Child of the Dark: The Diary of Carolina Maria de Jesus (New York: New American Library, 1963). 95¢ A moving personal diary of life in the slums of Sao Paulo, Brazil.

Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village by William Hinton (New York: Vintage Books, 1966). $2.95 A personal report on the Chinese revolution from the viewpoint of the peasants in Long Bow Village in the late forties.

Pedagogy of the Oppressed by Paulo Freire (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971). $2.95 A study of the dynamics of oppression and liberation; a Brazilian educator examines the relationship of education to those dynamics.

The Wretched of the Earth by Frantz Fanon (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1968). $1.25 A classic study by psychiatrist and revolutionary on the role of violence in effecting historical change.

14. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RESOURCES

Bibliography of International Development. Available for $1 from the Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC), 75 Sparks Street, Ottawa, KIP 5A5 Canada. 28 pp., 1969.

Catalogue of Development Education Material. A reference catalog of audio-visual materials, bibliographies, resource centers, and simulation games related to development education. 1972. CCIC (address above). $1.

Development: A Bibliography. A selective, annotated bibliography covering a wide range of economic and social development issues. 1970. 126 pp. Office of the Coordinator, FFHF/FAO, Via delle Terme di Caracalla, 00100 Rome, Italy. $1.

Development: The New Word for Peace. A resource guide and glossary available for 50¢ from the Service Center of The United Methodist Church, 7820 Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio 45237, 1968, 17 pp.

Exploitation of the Third World. 12 pages of notes on research and a bibliography. Third World Publications, 15 Dovey Road, Birmingham B13 9NT, England. 25¢.

The Non-Western World: An Annotated Bibliography for Elementary and Secondary Schools by Ruth Probandt. Listings of curriculum studies, resources for students, teachers, and libraries. Center for International Education, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts 01002, 1970. $1.

The Process of Modernization: An Annotated Bibliography of Socio-cultural Aspects of Development by John Brode (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969).

Towards a Theology of Development by Fr. Gerhard Bauer. An annotated bibliography prepared for SODEPAX. World Council of Churches, SODEPAX, 150 Route de Ferney, 1211 Geneva, Switzerland. $2.50.

World Development: An Introductory Bibliography by Helene Castel. Prepared for the Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church. This 24-page guide is an excellent complement to the bibliography in this Resource Manual, filling in areas such as Appalachia, Education, Technology, and the United Nations and other International Organizations. Available from the UMC Service Center (address above) for 35¢.

PERIODICALS

While there are many periodicals which treat issues related to the Third World there are few which do so from a critical perspective. The following is a list of newspapers and magazines that offer an alternate viewpoint on the news and on issues of international justice and peace.

1. NEWSPAPERS

American Report, 637 W. 125 Street, New York, N.Y. 10027. A weekly "review of religion and American power" published by Clergy and Laity Concerned. One year subscription: $7.

The Christian Science Monitor, Box 125, Astor Station, Boston, Mass. 02123. An international daily. One year subscription $33.

Guardian, 32 W. 22 Street, New York, N.Y. 10010. An independent radical news weekly. Ten-week trial subscription: $1.

2. MAGAZINES

Atlas, Subscription Department, Box 2550, Boulder, Colorado 80302. A monthly magazine which reprints articles and cartoons from all over the world. $9 a year.

Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, 9 Sutter Street, Room 300, San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Published quarterly. $6 a year.

China Notes, East Asia Department, DOM, Room 616, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027. A quarterly newsletter with feature articles and up-to-date resources on China and Christian perspectives on China. $2 a year.

Cross Currents, West Nyack, New York 10994. A quarterly ecumenical review which explores the implications of Christianity for our times. $6 a year.

Development News Digest, c/o ACOA, P.O. Box 1562, Canberra City, Australia 2601. The *Digest* is published five times a year by the Education Unit of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid. It is designed to be a forum for "a wide cross section of opinion on development issues." $2 a year.

Engage/Social Action, 100 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. The monthly publication of the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ. Each issue is devoted to one topic such as health care, U.S. business and Southern Africa, etc. Individual subscription $5; institutional rate, $15.

Informadev, c/o CCIC, 75 Sparks Street, Ottawa, KIP 5A5 Canada. An information folder published by the Canadian Council for International Co-operation. Detachable sheets containing news of the voluntary sector, current opinions on international development, excerpts of news from the media, a bibliography, audio-visual information, conference listings, etc. $5 a year (ten issues).

The Internationalist, New World Catholic, 419 Boylston Street, Room 209, Boston, Massachusetts 02116. An attractive feature magazine on international social issues published monthly in England. About $10 a year.

Latin America, 69 Cannon Street, London EC4N 5AB, United Kingdom. A concise and accurate political and economic weekly report of happenings in Latin America. $65 a year.

Latin America and Empire Report, c/o NACLA, P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Park Station, New York, N.Y. 10025. A monthly magazine with radical research on U.S. involvement in Latin America. $5 a year.

Latin America Press, Apartado 5594, Lima, Peru. LAP is the English edition of "Noticias Aliadas," a comprehensive news service on Latin America. $65 a year.

Monthly Review, 116 West 14 Street, New York, N.Y. 10011. An independent socialist monthly. $7 a year.

New World, c/o AFFHF, 1717 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. A monthly tabloid published by and for the "Young World Development" division of the AFFHF treating various aspects of development. $5 a year.

Newstatements, c/o CUSO, 157 Slater Street, Ottawa 4, Ontario, Canada. A polished magazine representing "a radical look at development and underdevelopment" published by the Canadian University Service Overseas. $7.05 a year (three issues).

Pacific Research and World Empire Telegram, 1963 University Avenue, East Palo Alto, California 94303. Published once every two months by the Pacific Studies Center with radical research on

Asian affairs. 12 issues, $5.

Perspectives, c/o CSDSC, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. Short, monthly monographs written by staff members of the Center for the Study of Development and Social Change and others on a variety of issues. Single copy, about 10¢. Bulk rates available.

The Progressive, 408 West Gorham Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53703. A liberal monthly specializing in the Washington scene. $8 a year.

Ramparts, 2054 University Avenue, Berkeley, California 94704. A radical monthly with articles on various topics. $8.50 a year.

The Review of Radical Political Economics, Union for Radical Political Economics, 2503 Student Activities Building, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104. $15 a year (four issues).

Social Policy, Suite 500, 184 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010. A bi-monthly with feature articles on a variety of issues related to social change. $8 a year.

Southern Africa, 244 West 27 Street, 5th floor, New York, N.Y. 10001. A monthly survey of news and opinions published by the Southern Africa Committee. Individual one-year subscription, $5; institutional rate, $15.

Worldview, 170 East 64 Street, New York, N.Y. 10021. A monthly magazine published by the Council on Religion and International Affairs. $10 a year.

3. READER SERVICES

IDOC-North America, 235 E. 49 Street, New York, N.Y. 10017. The North American affiliate of IDOC-INTERNATIONAL (located in Rome) publishes a monthly packet of documentation and research on "the needs and concerns of people and nations." The documents are attractively prepared and suitable for filing. $25 a year.

Latin American Documentation Service (LADOC), Box 6066, Washington, D.C. 20005. LADOC is a service of the Latin America Bureau of the USCC which provides a monthly collection (30 pp.) of translations of Latin American documents and articles related to the Church and society. $6 a year.

Third World Reader Service, 1500 Farragut Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20011. The Service sends out a monthly packet of reprints from a variety of newspapers and magazines with facts and viewpoints on the forces of power in the world today and the struggles of oppressed peoples toward liberation. TWRS, in association with "Interact," offers continuing education in the realities of the Third World with suggestions for support and action involvement. Write for a trial subscription.

SIMULATIONS/GAMES

1. RESOURCE GUIDES

The most detailed and comprehensive resource for simulations and games is The Guide to Simulations/Games for Education and Training by David W. Zuckermann and Robert E. Horn. The Guide contains complete descriptive information on 613 simulations and games for social studies, business, and many other fields. In addition, there is a supplementary list of 473 more items which are discontinued, in development, or about which more information is needed. The second edition is available for $15 from Information Resources, Inc., P.O. Box 417, Lexington, Massachusetts 02173.

An inexpensive resource booklet on simulations and games is Simulation Games for the Social Studies Classroom. It contains descriptions of various games, some suggestions for using them and an excellent bibliography. The booklet is available for $1 from the Foreign Policy Association, 345 E. 46 Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.

2. PERIODICALS

Two periodicals for those who use simulations and games are:

A. Simulation/Gaming/News. A tabloid newspaper issued five times a year with comprehensive coverage of the entire field. One year subscription: $4 from S/G/N, Box 8899, Stanford University, Stanford, California 94305.

B. Simulation Sharing Service. An ecumenical service to promote the use of simulation/gaming in the church's ministry. One year subscription: $5 for nine issues. SSS, Box 1176, Richmond, Virginia 23209.

3. HANDBOOKS

The following contain various group dynamics exercises that are useful in international affairs education to illustrate the need for communication and the role of stereotypes and prejudices, etc.

A. Adventuring with Youth by Edwin E. Hinshaw. A looseleaf folder of exercises designed for youth work. Published by Friends United Press, Richmond, Indiana. Write for current price.

B. A Handbook of Structured Experiences for Human Relations Training edited by Pfeiffer and Jones. These volumes are an excellent resource for designs similar to the ones in this Resource Manual. The four volumes are available for $3 each, except for Volume IV which is $3.50, from University Associates Press, P.O. Box 615, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.

4. PUBLISHERS AND PRODUCERS

The following are some of the more prominent publishers and producers of simulations and games:

Simile II
1150 Silverado
La Jolla, California 92037

Western Publishing Co., Inc.
School and Library Department
850 Third Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Psychology Today Games
P.O. Box 4762
Clinton, Iowa 52732

University Associates Press
P.O. Box 615
Iowa City, Iowa 52240

Instructional Simulations, Inc.
2147 University Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota 55114

Simulation Games Center
221 Willey Street
Morgantown, West Virginia 26505

Friendship Press
Distribution Center
P.O. Box 37844
Cincinnati, Ohio 45237

John Knox Press
Box 1176
Richmond, Virginia 23209

National Teacher Education Project
6947 East MacDonald Drive
Scottsdale, Arizona 85253

Information Resources, Inc.
Box 417
Lexington, Massachusetts 02173

5. SELECTED SIMULATIONS/GAMES

In addition to the educational designs and simulations in this Resource Manual the following are useful in education for justice.

The Aid Committee Game. Suitable for junior secondary schools. Participants study one developing country and its problems and decide what projects they would help if they had the money and the opportunity. Background papers with maps and slides are available for basing the game on Botswana, Upper Volta, or the Windward Islands (Eastern Caribbean). It takes a minimum of 1½ hours to play. Contributions are asked toward the cost of these papers--20¢ per participant. Teachers are advised to use this as part of a project on development problems. Write OXFAM, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford, OX2 7DZ England.

Baldicer deals with food production and distribution. Each participant is Food Coordinator for 150 million people. In each round he simulates his people at work, earning balanced diet certificates (Baldicers). After a period of trading, bargaining, and purchasing, he calculates his status and determines whether or not he is still "alive" and may continue to play. Those who "die" become part of the world conscience, trying to arouse the "live" players. Stresses the interrelated nature of world economy. Learners may develop sensitivity to problems of food production, plight of poor-developing countries, use and abuse of power and wealth internationally. Ethical and theological themes at work include: How may justice be executed? How may liberation be effected? What values are placed upon human environmental/economic development? Designed for ten to twenty players. Published by John Knox Press, Box 1176, Richmond, Virginia 23209. $25.

Catalyzer involves participants in a study of the dynamics of power, oppression, and change in the Latin American reality. Designed by Neil Popliffe and available for $1.95 from Friendship Press Distribution Office, P.O. Box 37844, Cincinnati, Ohio 45237.

Confrontation is an interaction game in which teams of players assume the roles of students and others trying to change the system, and of various establishment groups which act as the university administration, business, the military, city hall, and others who like the system the way it is. Involves the participants in issues related to group cohesiveness, decision-making, and tactics employed. Designed for four to thirty persons. Distributed by John N. Hansen Co., Western Merchandise Mart, 1355 Market Street, San Francisco, California 94102.

Crisis. The participants become members of six nations. Their immediate problem is resolving a tense situation in a mining area of enormous importance to the entire world. In general, the goals for all nations are to secure Dermatium (the element in the mines) for their people, to prevent the destruction of their own nation, and to bring about world peace. Learners may develop awareness of the pressures upon decision makers as they try to resolve international conflicts, develop cooperation among nations, and maintain support within individual nations. Ethics of use and abuse of power may be discovered. Designed for eighteen to thirty-six players. Published by Western Behavioral Sciences Institute (WESI), P.O. Box 1023, La Jolla, Calif. 92037. $25.

Dangerous Parallel is a simulation of international negotiation and decision-making in which the participants are divided into six teams, representing the Cabinets of six nations involved in a world crisis. Participants have access to quite substantial and useful briefing information on their country's policies. Although not intended as a tool for teaching history, this simulation is designed from a specific international crisis of recent times. Learners may develop insight into consequences of particular policies and skills relating to decision-making coalition formation, rapid thinking, and bargaining. Ethical issues are raised about use of power and tactical maneuvers. Designed for eighteen to thirty-six players. Produced by Scott, Foresman and Co., 1900 East Lake Avenue, Glenview, Illinois 60025. $60.

Decision Makers is a game designed to simulate the problems groups face when they try to produce peaceful social change in their communities. While the game can be played using any social change situation, the game manual describes the problems faced by a community group which is trying to get a course about the issues of war and peace introduced in their local high school. The group wants to develop students' sophistication about international problems, encouraging them to be concerned, active, "global citizens." The game is designed for from twenty to fifty participants and should run for at least two hours. It is available from AFSC, 15 Rutherford Place, New York, N.Y.10003. $5.50.

The Development Game. Participants divide into groups to study, and then play the parts of the governments of several developing countries. Algeria, Botswana, British Honduras, the Eastern Caribbean, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Papua/New Guinea, are the countries for which information is available. Each group draws up a development plan and projects needing support in its own country, and requests aid from a critical committee on consortium. Materials available include full background papers, information about relevant maps, advice as to how to contact returned volunteers. The Game takes a full day to play. Contributions are asked towards the cost of these papers--20¢ per participant. Instructions are supplied, but the game can be adapted for many different uses. Teachers are welcome to duplicate their own copies of background papers. Write OXFAM, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford, OX2 7DZ England.

Dignity. What does life in the black ghetto do to its captors? Dignity provides players the opportunity to learn through a board game. With each turn, the player assumes a different role such as a slum landlord, a welfare client, a picket for Operation Breadbasket, organizer of an Afro-American Patrolmen's Association. Each move creates opportunity for dialogue and growth. Designed for four to six players. Published by Friendship Press. Friendship Press Distribution Office, P.O. Box 37844, Cincinnati, Ohio 45237. $4.95.

Down with the King is a role-playing device used to expose the dynamics of medieval politics and the feudal system. (Can be played with another form of government once the rules are learned.) The student goes through an operational exercise in political and revolutionary tactics. The game is both an instructional process in art and in social science and is recommended for use from fifth grade through junior high school. It works well with sixteen to twenty-five students; thirty-two is the outside limit for participants. Published as part of the Interdisciplinary Curriculum Series with Resources for the Teacher (No. 6091-4, 95¢) and Projects for Students (No. 6099-X, $1.25) by The New Seabury Press, 815 Second Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Guns or Butter. Models an international system of five to seven nations with varying resources and power, in which students play roles as decision makers. Available from Simile II, P.O.Box 1023, La Jolla, California 92037.

People Power is an interaction game between groups within a city using the guise of an environmental crisis. The "environmentalness" of the game, however, plays a very minor part. The real issue is the power of the different groups--City Hall, protesters, church, industry. In this regard, the title is appropriate. Designed for four to twenty people. Time: 2 hours. Published by Board of Christian Education, The United Church of Canada, Distribution Services, 209 Queen Street W., Toronto 133, Canada. Write for current price.

Propaganda has been designed to introduce the players to some of the techniques used to distort the thinking process. The goal of the game is to identify blocks to good communication and thereby move away from the "ding-a-ling" section toward the ideal of "clear thinking." Learners may increase their awareness of manipulative techniques and discuss the ethical implications of them for security and liberation. Designed for two to four players. Published by Wff'n Ploof, Box 71-4S, New Haven, Conn. 06501. $6.

The Road Game. Four territorial groups (represented on a large piece of paper) each of which is interested in drawing roads from its own area through another group's territory to the opposite edge of the paper. Negotiation takes place between groups only through their leaders. It is necessary for unanimous permission to be given before one group may enter another group's territory. The flexibility of the game is one of its greatest assets. Virtually any characteristics may be assigned to the individual territorial groups. Consequently the negotiations may take place between any desired groups. Moves quickly onto such issues as power, cooperation, patriotism, dissent, decision-making, consensus building, and justice. Designed for twelve to thirty-two players. Published as part of the Interdisciplinary Curriculum Series. Resources for the Teacher (No.6095-7, $1.45) and Projects for Students (No. 6098-1, $1.75) by The New Seabury Press, 815 Second Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Sim-Soc is a simulated society. Participants select and become members of one of seven groups in one of four regions. They may seek employment, earn Simbucks for currency, buy subsistence, travel, hire other people, advertise in the magazine, etc. The goal is to fulfill the stated objectives of the individual group. Raises questions about authority and its abuse, conflict, trust, leadership, maintaining social order. This simulation needs to be played for three rounds in order to get beyond simple subsistence and into the politics. Allow plenty of time; this game can be lived with for as long as a week. Designed for twenty participants or more. Published by The Free Press, 866 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.

The Value Game is one in a series of interdisciplinary art projects. The game is designed to demonstrate the lack of ethical consensus and to expose the participants to the presuppositions on which an "absolute right" and "absolute wrong" ethic is based. Using an art experience to involve people who would normally be reluctant, the game demonstrates that people often have values in their minds that are ideally held as long as they are kept apart from real situation. When the game is played with a variety of age groups, it also helps encourage discussion of the so-called "moral generation gap." Appropriate for junior and senior high school students and adults. Designed for up to twenty-five persons, it works best with ten to fifteen. Published as part of the Interdisciplinary Curriculum Series. Resources for the Teacher (No. 6097-3, 95¢) and Projects for Students (No. 6101-5, $1.75) by The New Seabury Press, 815 Second Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Values. What is important to you and why? Values is a board game with situation cards. It provides opportunities to explore social issues, problems, conflicts, priorities and to help clarify one's own feelings. Ideal for group of three to six, although any number can play. Produced by Friendship Press (475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027).

The World Without War Game is designed to acquaint a group of thirty to forty people with the dangers of war and the realities of world conflict and to motivate them to work constructively for a world without war. This intensive approach to peace education compresses into a single weekend simulation games, films, drama, fictional readings, rapid-fire narrative presentations, small group discussion, and sharing of feelings and attitudes. World Without War Council, 1730 Grove Street, Berkeley, Calif. 94709. $10.

FILMS

1. RESOURCE GUIDES

A Guide to Films about Development. American Freedom from Hunger Foundation, 1717 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. A 42-page guide to films about underdevelopment in the United States and throughout the Third World. The films selected for review are generally an hour or less in length, relatively recent (1967 or later) and inexpensive to rent ($25 or less). $1.

Discovery in Film (Books I and II) by Malcolm Gordon (New York: Paulist Press, I: 1970, 219 pp. $4.50; II: 1973, 162 pp. $4.95). Basic introductions and guides to 159 short, non-feature films with a synopsis of each film's contents and techniques, its application for the educational setting, resource readings, photos of scenes from the film, discussion programs for each film, and the information on where and how to rent or buy the film. Book II contains clearly outlined directions for a super-8 film-making course.

FAO Catalogue of Films and Filmstrips. Food and Agriculture Organization of the U.N., Via delle Terme di Caracalla, 00100 Rome, Italy. Films on agriculture and development are available on free loan from FAO for periods of up to two weeks not including transportation time.

Films and Other Audio-Visuals on World Development. Canadian Council for International Co-operation, 75 Sparks Street, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1P 5A5. Lists of films with data on content, quality, length. Addresses of distributors. Updated yearly and maintained with information sheets in Informadev. A complete revision of this catalog--expanded to cover 300 films --is due to be published. Write for details. 1971. $3.

Films of a Changing World: A Critical International Guide by Jean Marie Ackermann. Society for International Development, 1346 Connecticut Avenue,N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Extensive reviews of films on development reprinted from the International Development Review. Index of titles, area, and subject. Also includes: (1) lists of films and other media classified by subject; (2) a sampling of catalogs; (3) selected readings and references; and (4) selected periodicals. 1972. 106 pp. $4.

Focus '70. World University Service of Canada, 27 Goulburn Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1N 8G7. Assorted films on the dynamics of social change from a radical perspective. 1970. $1.50.

Intercom (September-October 1965 issue). Center for War/Peace Studies, 218 E. 18 Street, New York, N.Y. 10003. An annotated listing of over 150 film titles on world affairs and addresses of U.S. film sources. $1.50. See also the April 1972 issue: Development: New Approaches.

War, Peace Film Guide by Lucy Dougall. World Without War Publications, 7245 S. Merrill Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60649. A very comprehensive guide to films, resources, background readings, and film sources related to the study of war and peace. Contains a valuable section on "Film Program Development Aids" with sample discussion guides, film programs, model study units, weekend activities, etc. 1973 (Revised Edition). 123 pp. $1.50.

2. PERIODICALS

The American Film Institute, 1815 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. The AFI is not primarily a film distributor but rather an invaluable source of information on current developments in film education. They have an educational membership that provides its subscribers with a regular newsletter that is well worth the minimal dues requirement.

Cineaste, 244 W. 27 Street, New York, N.Y. 10001. A political film quarterly with feature articles, film and book reviews, and regular listings of important film festivals, symposia, etc. $3 a year.

Mass Media Ministries ("A Service Devoted to a Responsible Encounter Between the Church and the Arts"), 2116 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21218 and 1720 Chouteau Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63103. MMM offers an 8-page Bi-Weekly Newsletter with reviews of short films, current cinema, T.V., recordings, tapes and books. $10 a year.

3. HANDBOOKS

Three publications offering helpful guidance on the showing and discussion of educational films are:

Leading Film Discussions by Madeline S. Friedlander, League of Women Voters of the City of New York, 131 E. 23 Street, New York, N.Y. 10010. 50 pp. 60¢.

Media for Discovery by Dr. Hans Moller. MacLean-Hunter Learning Materials Co., 481 University Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W 1A7. 1970. 144 pp., $3.97.

Putting Films to Work: A Guide to Effective Discussion of Films by Community Organizations, National Film Board of Canada, 19 pp., Free.

4. DISTRIBUTORS

The following list of twenty-eight film distributors is included in the interest of completeness. Those distributors who carry films of special interest in education for justice are marked with an asterisk. Catalogs from the other distributors might be of use, also.

*Association Films
Paulist Productions
17575 Pacific Coast Highway
Pacific Palisades,Calif. 90272.
T.V. style short dramas (28 minutes long) geared to provoke discussion about personal or social moral problems.

Brandon Films
34 MacQuesten Parkway South
Mt. Vernon, N.Y. 10550.

Broadcasting and Film Commission of the National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027.

Center Cinema Cooperative
c/o Columbia College
540 N. Lakeshore Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60611.

Center for Documentary Anthropology
24 Dane Street
Somerville, Massachusetts 02143.

Churchill Films
662 N. Robertson Blvd.
Los Angeles, California 90069.

Association-Sterling Films
866 Third Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022.
Clearinghouse for hundreds of corporate and other educational films. Ask for free catalog of "Free Loan Films."

*The DC III Film Library
267 W. 25 Street
New York, N.Y. 10001.

Filmakers Cooperative
175 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016.

Filmakers Library
290 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10023.

*Films for Social Change
5122 Waterman Blvd.
St. Louis, Missouri 63108.

Flower Films
1412A North Poinsettia Place
Hollywood, California 90046.

*Cokesbury Regional Service Centers:
1910 Main Street
Dallas, Texas 75221.

1600 Queen Anne Road
Teaneck, N.J. 07666.

Fifth and Grace Streets
Richmond, Virginia 23261.

201 Eight Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee 37202.

1661 N. Northwest Hwy.
Park Ridge, Illinois 60068.

85 McAllister Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94102.

*Contemporary/McGraw-Hill Films
(Eastern Office)
Princeton Road
Hightstown, New Jersey 08520.

(Midwest Office)
828 Custer Avenue
Evanston, Illinois 60202.

(Western Office)
1714 Stockton Street
San Francisco, California 94133.

*New Yorker Films
2409 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10024.

*Newsreel Films
322 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10001
and other locations throughout the country. 50% discount for the use of their films in high schools.

Picture Films Distribution Corp.
43 W. 16 Street
New York, N.Y. 10011.

*Grove Press Film Division
53 East 11 Street
New York, N.Y. 10003.

*Impact Films
144 Bleecker Street
New York, N.Y. 10012.

*International Film Bureau, Inc.
332 S. Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60611.

*Maryknoll Film Library
Walsh Building
Maryknoll, New York 10545.
Free-loan films on Latin America, Asia, and Africa.

*National Film Board of Canada
680 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10019.

*NBC Education Enterprises
30 Rockefeller Plaza, Rm. 1040
New York, N.Y. 10020.
Specializes in the sale and rental of the photo-journalism films of NBC News on current political and social issues. They provide a catalog and weekly supplements.

ROA's Films
1696 N. Astor Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202.

*Third World Film List
Third World First
15 Dovey Road
Birmingham
B13 9NT United Kingdom.
A listing compiled on mimeographed sheets by Jeff Francis featuring documentaries and feature-length films by Third World artists.

*Third World Cinema Group
2121 Browning Street
Berkeley, California 94704.
Has a "Listing of Latin American Films on Socio-Political Subjects (1971-72)."

Pyramid Films
Box 1048
Santa Monica
California 90406

*Tricontinental Film Center
244 W. 27 Street
New York, N.Y. 10001
or P.O. Box 4430
Berkeley, California 94704.
Films about the Third World--features as well as short documentaries.

Your local public library will have catalogs from some film distributors and possibly a collection of films or access to films that would be available on free loan or for a small service charge.

For films produced by voluntary and service organizations (such as the American Friends Service Committee, the United Nations Association, B'nai B'rith, and the League of Women Voters) consult the classified telephone directory for the listing of a local chapter.

Colleges and universities will sometimes have Audio-Visual Centers through which educational films can be rented or purchased. Contact especially the Indiana University Audio-Visual Center, Bloomington, Indiana 47401; the University of Illinois Visual Aids Service, 704 South Sixth Street, Champaign, Illinois 61820; the New York University Film Library, 26 Washington Place, New York, N.Y. 10003; and the Center for Teaching International Relations at the University of Denver, Denver, Colorado 80210.

5. SELECTED FILMS

A Valparaiso. In French with English subtitles. This film artistically portrays the great tensions between the rich and the poor in Valparaiso, a port in Chile. The film is limited to a study of the poverty above on the hills and the prosperity below in this one city in Chile. Made in the early sixties it does not analyze the recent economic and political changes in Chile. It is helpful as background to these changes. (Contemporary, 1963, b&w, 30 min., $17.50)

Black Girl. The distress experienced by a girl when she leaves for France to work and has to face racism and loneliness. (b&w, 60 min.)

Barom Sarret. A man and his family facing poverty and unemployment in Dakar, Senegal. (b&w, 19 min.)

Tauw. A remarkable picture of the decomposition of an ancient society; the clash of generations in Senegal. (color, 27 min.) The three films above were made by Ousmane Sembene, the first African film-maker to achieve international status. They are distributed by New Yorker Films. Rental prices vary. Call 212-247-6110 for information.

Barren Lives (Vidas Secas). After a very long drought, a poor northern Brazilian family migrates in search of a fertile plot of land. Their encounters, aspirations, and frustrations are treated with a documentary vision that elucidates the hopes and hopelessness of the poor in an unjust socio-economic-political system. (Contemporary Films/McGraw Hill, b&w, 115 min., $60)

Blood of the Condor. In Spanish and Quechua with English subtitles. The film by Yawar Mallka depicts the reaction of an Indian community leader to the forced sterilization of women by U.S. volunteer groups, the functioning of Bolivian society, the retaliation of the system to the leader's revenge. Excellent for understanding altiplano Indians' reaction to outsiders. (Third World Cinema Group, b&w, 85 min., rental open)

Campamento! An excellent documentary of a community fashioned out of a squatter settlement in Chile. Explores issues of self-reliance, values in education, revolutionary consciousness and action, and much more. (Maryknoll Film Library, color, 28 min., free)

Children of the Dust. This film views the slums or "barriadas" of Lima, Peru, where children comprise half the population. Forgotten, with little hope of escape, the children live a life of bare survival. The film offers no analysis of why this situation exists nor does it really get at solutions other than stop-gap measures of some missioners and volunteer groups. It does give background to understanding Latin American slums. (Maryknoll Film Library, 1966, color, 28 min., free)

China! English journalist Felix Greene made this film during his trip throughout China in 1963. It concentrated on the life of ordinary people in factories and communes, and in cities such as Shanghai. Included are scenes of sporting and musical events, religious services, schools and mass rallies in Peking. (Impact Films, color, 65 min., $135)

Flavio. Gordon Parks, famous black American photographer, compassionately and honestly portrays the situation of an impoverished family of 11 in the slums of Rio de Janeiro, as viewed through the eyes of 12-year-old Flavio. Skillfully combining both motion and still pictures, Parks' film presents a stark contrast to the usual colorful films of Rio. It could be used in conjunction with Child of the Dark, the autobiography of Carolina Maria de Jesus which depicts life in the slums of Rio.

(Mass Media/Contemporary, 1964, b&w, 12 min., $12.50)

It Happened in Hualfin. A story in three parts of Indian life in the Catamarca region of Argentina depicting their economic poverty, the cruelty of charity, and their apparent powerlessness to change a system that keeps them in poverty. (Picture Films Distribution Corporation, 3 parts of 18 min., parts 1 and 2, b&w, $15 each; part 3, color, $20)

Journey of Fabio Pacchioni. A United Nations film about Fabio Pacchioni, an Italian theater director, hired by UNESCO to establish an Ecuadorian national theater. It shows how a company of essentially middle class actors learns to relate to the Ecuadorian rural population. Raises many important development issues. (Contemporary Films/McGraw-Hill, color, 28 min., $11)

Mandabi (The Money Order). Another of Ousmane Sembene's excellent films about a man who receives a money order from his nephew studying in Paris. This windfall threatens to destroy the traditional fabric of his life and community. (Grove Press Film Division, color, 90 min., $140)

The McDonnell Film. Excellent footage accompanies candid interviews of former employees who had been laid off by McDonnell Aircraft in St. Louis. Points up impact on U.S. society of large firms producing war materiel. (The St. Louis Project, 4372 Westminster Pl., St. Louis, Missouri 63108, 30 min., $15)

A Problem of Power. A study of power and powerlessness in Colombia with interviews with peasants, landowners, U.S. AID officials, students, and others. The film was made by the National Council of Churches as a resource for their year-long interdenominational study: "The Americas: How Many Worlds?" 1970-71. (Write to a Cokesbury Regional Service for a copy. Color, 45 min., $15 rental)

Sigaboy. The history and most recent developments of the Federation of Free Farmers in Sigaboy, Republic of the Philippines; studies the role of U.S. missionaries in such movements. (Maryknoll Film Library, color, 65 min., free)

The Third World. Six one-half hour video tapes:

1. "The Third World: A Phoenix Observed." An attempt to define the term "third world" and to give some background as to how it came about and why. The program also directs attention to various civilizations that existed in the third world prior to the coming of the European.

2. "The Third World: Bread, Bibles and Bullets--the Colonial Phase." An examination of colonialism. The nature of each colorful experience was a result of the particular historical

context to which the colonizer responded. The colonial experience was not a phenomenon of the nineteenth century; in terms of the third world it began around the end of the fifteenth and still continues today in such places as Angola, Rhodesia, Mozambique, and South Africa.

3. "The Third World: 'Uhuru'--'Libertad'--Toward National Independence." An examination of the nature of particular independence movements to show that all movements were not identical; that, for example, they varied greatly between the poles of violent and peaceful. A portion of the program looks at Mozambique and the freedom struggle there.

4. "The Third World: The Cake of Custom--and Future Shock." An examination of the concepts and values that the colonizer introduced and the effect they had on the indigenous population.

5. "The Third World: Evolution or Revolution?" An examination of the various examples of the types of strategies that countries took after independence was granted. Within a basic historical context, the program attempts to discover why the countries took the paths they did, and what has happened as a result of those decisions.

6. "The Third World: The Other Two Worlds." This program explores the meaning of the term "development" and Canada's development philosophy, and examines the problems of the third world translated into the problem of Canada. (Ontario Educational Communications Authority, Box 19, Postal Station R, Toronto 352, Canada. Sale $200)

Who Invited US? A study of the struggle between capitalism and socialism in the Third World and the motivations for U.S. interventions. (Indiana University Audio-Visual Center, b&w, 60 min., $13.50)

AREA RESOURCE AND CURRICULUM GUIDES

The resources listed in this section include bibliographical material, as well as teaching aids and curricula on Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Resource groups with a specific area focus are listed below on pp. 461-62.

The African-American Institute, 866 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017. The School Services Division of the Institute is designed "to assist educators in U.S. schools K-12 to improve the quantity and quality of study about Africans."

African Bibliographic Center, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 901, Washington, D.C. 20036. The Center furnishes current research and bibliographical information on Africa and related topics in two of its major publications: A Current Bibliography on African Affairs and African Bibliographic Center News. Write for more information.

China: A Resource and Curriculum Guide edited by Arlene Posner and Arne J. De Keijzer (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973. $2.95). The editors of this Curriculum Guide have compiled and evaluated a fully annotated range of written materials, tapes, films, as well as curriculum units which offer representative views of the social, historical, economic, political, and cultural aspect of China's society and international relations, both past and present.

Focus on Asian Studies. A quarterly newsletter published by the Service Center for Teachers on Asian Studies, AAS, Ohio State University, 29 West Woodruff Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Includes essays, book reviews, and announcements of conferences, publications, multi-media materials, and summer programs. $1.

La Lucha--Contemporary Issues in Latin America (New York: Orbis Books, 1972. $1.95). This study/action packet contains a substantial bibliography of books, films, information and action groups, program guides, maps, special resources and other study/action packets.

Latin American Audio-Visual Materials. Pan American Development Foundation, 17th and Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. A free brochure describing slides and films on Latin American culture and art available to individuals and organizations.

NACLA's Bibliography on Latin America. Vol. VII, No. 3 (March 1973) of NACLA's Latin America and Empire Report contains an extensive 40-page bibliography designed for the specialist and non-specialist alike. Overall the focus is anti-imperialist and preference is given to writers on the left. Available from: NACLA, Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025. $1.

OTHER RESOURCES

1. FILMSTRIPS

The USCC/Division of Justice and Peace in cooperation with A.Y. Productions has developed three sets of sound filmstrips that can be used to augment three modules of Justice in the World: A Primer for Teachers. The filmstrips can also be used separately in Social Studies and/or Church and Society courses. Available for $45 a set (with records) or $48 (with cassettes) from A.Y.P., Box 58, New Holstein, Wisconsin 53061. (1) Church in the World begins by asking the question, "Should the Church be involved in any questions of injustice?" Society's unconcern is compared with Church documents, concluding with a mini-lesson on the concept of "Church." (2) The Right to Develop looks at popular cowboy movies, and reflects on the violence and injustice that characterized much of the development of the West. It then draws parallels in today's world. (3) Three Worlds clearly illustrates the concept of the Third World by comparing and examining futuristic views such as "Omega Point," "Global Village," "Consciousness III" with the state of the world as it is now. Questions raised are: "Are three worlds a permanent state of the globe?" and "Are three worlds desirable?"

Conversation with the Third World. A filmstrip dialogue in which a group clarifies its worldview and value system, then listens to a Third World group share its perspective and values. The filmstrip is stopped at various intervals to allow for dialogue and discussion. Available for $5 (rental) or $10 (purchase) from LAOS Inc., 4920 Piney Branch Road, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20011.

Fruits, Vegetables and People. A 20-minute filmstrip and sound recording discussing the situation of migrant farmworkers in the United States and how the consumer can join in their struggle. Write to the Service Center of the United Methodist Church, 7820 Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio 45237, for further information.

Touring the Third World. A 39-frame filmstrip and accompanying script and discussion guide designed to introduce the subject of the Third World to U.S. audiences. Available for $9.95 per set (purchase) from the Division of Justice and Peace/USCC, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

2. SLIDE PRESENTATIONS

Automated Air War. 140 slides, a carefully footnoted script, and a packet of background materials on the U.S. automated air war and electronic battlefields throughout Southeast Asia. NARMIC, 160 N. 15 Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102. $55 (purchase).

Brazil: Miracle for Whom? 80 slides and accompanying audio cassette, a social and political commentary on Brazil and its relationship with U.S. government policy and multi-national corporations since the military coup in 1964. CARIB/COFFLA, P.O. Box 426, Hyattsville, Maryland 20782. $10 and shipping costs (rental) $40 (purchase).

The Church as an Instrument of U.S. Foreign Policy. How U.S. Churches are used wittingly and unwittingly to affect government foreign policy. Approximately 20 minutes. New World Coalition, 419 Boylston Street, Room 209, Boston, Massachusetts 02116. This slide/tape and others from the NWC is accompanied by a resource guide listing follow-up resources and activities. Fees for the use of NWC slide/tape are negotiable.

Double Cream! No Sugar? A set of thirty slides and accompanying tape and script illustrating the life of coffee workers in El Salvador. It is best used in conjunction with "The Coffee Game." Write to the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace, 67 Bond Street, Suite 211, Toronto 2, Ontario, Canada.

Global Awareness Slide Kit. Produced for use in schools, the kit contains 40 color slides and accompanying guide (in English or Spanish) showing people from around the world struggling to be free. Orbis Books, Maryknoll, N.Y. 10545. $11.95.

Technology. What is technology? How did it develop? How is it used today? Who prizes it and why? Approximately 15 minutes. New World Coalition (address above).

U.S. Middle Class Values. A look at our values (individualism, success, etc.) and what they cost other people in this country and in other parts of the world. Approximately 15 minutes. New World Coalition (address above).

3. TAPES

Radio Free People, 133 Mercer Street, New York, N.Y. 10012, offers tapes for sale on a variety of issues of social justice. Write for free catalog.

The National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. 777 U.N. Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017, has a series of taped interviews with China specialists which are available for loan (postage only).

RESOURCE GROUPS

The various groups listed in this section are categorized according to the primary focus of their work. Descriptions of the work of the groups were written by the groups themselves.

1. RESEARCH AND RESOURCES (Ask them for other groups in the specific areas of their study.)

Center for Resources on Institutional Oppression, 163 Madison, Detroit, Michigan 48226. CRIO is building a central resource library of documentation, films, organizations, etc. on issues of oppression--domestic and Third World.

Center for the Study of Power and Peace, 110 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. The Center is engaged in peace research and education. It publishes a bi-weekly survey on significant and timely issues in the area of international affairs, disarmament, the Third World, etc. The Center acts in a consultative capacity especially to ecumenical, Church-related groups.

Cooperation in Documentation, 1500 Farragut Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20011. CODOC, a part of the Interaction Coalition, is seeking to collate and document information concerning liberation struggles throughout the world.

Corporate Action Project, c/o Alternatives, 1500 Farragut Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20011. A citizen action group concerned with the policies of U.S. corporations which violate social justice. CAP has published a 100-page Corporate Action Guide ($2) for use in local actions.

Corporate Information Center, c/o NCC, Room 846, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027. The Center supplies resource and research information for the use of church investors, mission groups and other organizations and individuals on the subject of corporate social responsibility. Its focus of research includes foreign investment, consumerism, environment, military procurement, labor and minority policies, and governmental relations of corporations. Write for literature list.

Development Education Centre, 200 Bedford Road, Toronto 180, Canada. Researches and distributes materials on the process of underdevelopment in Canada and in the Third World, as well as the role of the Canadian government and corporations in this process.

Institute for Policy Studies, 1520 New Hampshire Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. Research on various aspects of U.S. presence overseas.

National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex. 160 N. 15 Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102. Publications, speaking, and research.

Union of Radical Political Economists, 507 Church Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104. Research and publication of The Review of Radical Political Economics.

2. SEMINARS AND WORKSHOPS

Barbek Associates, 3205 Oak Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio 44118. Training and organizing to relate Third World struggles for change to goals and strategies in U.S. domestic issues, especially racism.

Board of Global Ministries of the UMC (Women's Division), 475 Riverside Drive, 15th floor, New York,N.Y. 10027. To work with United Methodist women in the United States on issues and concerns about justice, liberation, and development, working out a process by which action and reflection are held together. Periodic workshops and consultations are held to explore the political, social, and economic implications of U.S. foreign policy in relation to aid and trade, role of multi-national corporations, and possibilities for inter-cultural (pluralistic) resources. We work particularly with Third World women (both in the U.S. and Asia, Africa, and Latin America) to probe the meaning of development and concrete action toward full liberation and development.

Interact, 1500 Farragut Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001. A coalition of various groups offering quality seminars, consultative work, and a Third World Reader Service.

United Methodist Office for the U.N., Church Center for the U.N., 777 U.N. Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017. Programs at the CCUN for youth and adults around issues of the Church and international affairs.

3. TEACHING AIDS

Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts 01002.

Center for Teaching International Relations. Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado 80210.

Center for War/Peace Studies, 218 E. 18th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003. The Center is a national, non-profit, research, development, and consulting agency concerned with improving the global dimension of the curriculum in our schools. It publishes materials for teachers, conducts in-service and pre-service training workshops, and provides other resources and activities that educate about war, peace, conflict, and change and promote the search for constructive alternatives to violence in the fulfillment of international responsibilities and the furtherance of democratic values. Publishes "Intercom."

Diablo Valley Education Project, 50 Vashell Way, Suite 300, Orinda, California 94563. The DVEP is a cooperative project with the Mt. Diablo Unified School District and the Center for War/Peace Studies that serves as a bridge between national educational resources and local community projects in conducting teachers' workshops throughout the U.S., surveys curriculum materials, and tests educational progress which emphasize the international dimension in education.

Schools Program--WWW Education Fund, c/o World Without War Council, 7245 South Merrill, Chicago, Illinois 60649.

Social Studies School Service, 10,000 Culver Blvd., Culver City, California 90230. Distributes a comprehensive catalog of simulation games, sound filmstrips, paperbacks, pamphlets and other teaching materials for the use of secondary school social studies teachers.

4. LITERATURE AND READER SERVICE

ACOA Southern Africa Literature List, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.

AFSC Peace Literature Service, 160 N. 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102.

Development Ed Centre, 200 Bedford Road, Toronto 180, Ontario, Canada.

Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action (EPICA), 1500 Farragut Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20011. Publishes quarterly *Reports* on inter-American issues. Back issues and other publications available. Write for information.

IDOC-North America, 235 E. 49 Street, New York, N.Y. 10017. See information on p. 433.

Latin American Documentation Service, Box 6060, Washington, D.C. 20005. See information on p. 433.

New England Free Press, 791 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02118. Periodic literature lists on a variety of subjects, peoples, and areas.

New World Resource Center, 2546 N. Halstead, Chicago, Illinois 60614. The Resource Center (formerly called the American Information Center) stocks and distributes inexpensive pamphlets and paperbacks on various aspects of U.S. presence in the Third World. Write for free literature lists on Southern Africa Literature; Resources: Latin America; and Resources on U.S. Imperialism and the Third World.

Third World Publications, 15 Dovey Road, Birmingham B13 9NT. Specializes in the distribution of attractively printed pamphlets and booklets on the Third World.

Third World Reader Service, 1500 Farragut Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20011. See information on pp. 433-34.

United Front Press, P.O. Box 40099, San Francisco, Calif. 94110. UFP publishes or distributes over 70 inexpensive pamphlets with particular emphasis on the U.S. working class; the struggles of Black, La Raza, Asian, and native American peoples; and liberation struggles abroad. Write for their free catalog.

5. GENERAL EDUCATION/ACTION

American Freedom from Hunger Foundation/Young World Development, 1717 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. The AFFHF sponsors the "Walks for Development" and carries on various educational activities. YWD is the youth division of AFFHF.

American Friends Service Committee, 160 N. 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102. Involved in four major action/education areas: peace education, community relations (working with the poor and excluded), international affairs, and international service (relief and development).

Campaign for Human Development, 1312 Massachusetts Ave.,N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. A fund-raising and educational effort sponsored by the U.S. Catholic bishops. Its focus is on poverty and justice in the United States.

Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace, 67 Bond Street, Suite 211, Toronto 2, Ontario.

Canadian Council for International Co-operation, 75 Sparks Street, Ottawa K1P 5A5, Canada. CCIC is an information, communication, and action center designed to mobilize greater Canadian participation in the task of world development. The CCIC has an excellent collection of literature and resource material. Write for a catalog.

Catholic Peace Fellowship, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012. The Fellowship adheres to the basic ideals of non-violent resistance. They are attempting to develop revolutionary concepts of education which will help them in their capacity as an educational resource for peace education. Their education is seen to be a process of creating an impetus towards social change the end of which is a society that is self-determining.

Center of Concern, 3700 13th Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20017. The Center is an autonomous public interest group that seeks to sensitize North Americans to issues of global justice and to move them to effective action. Through conferences, workshops, educational materials and publications, it works to educate decision-makers, policy-formulators, and the general public to an awareness of the rights and perspectives of the Third World.

Division of Justice and Peace of the USCC, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. This Division of the U.S. Catholic Conference seeks to implement at the national level the mandate originally given by Pope Paul VI to the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace, that is, to stimulate renewed efforts towards justice and peace, to coordinate such efforts whenever possible, and to assist the agencies and institutions of the Catholic Church in the United States in this task.

Foreign Policy Association, 345 E. 46 Street, New York, N.Y. 10017. The Association is a private, non-profit, non-partisan organization working to develop, through education, an informed, thoughtful and articulate public opinion on major issues of foreign policy. FPA prepares a number of publications on world affairs, including resources for Third World education. "Great Decisions" is FPA's annual study-discussion program, involving citizens and students in eight weeks of concentrated study of eight key foreign policy issues.

League for Economic Assistance and Development, 390 Plandome Road, Manhasset, New York 11030. LEAD services a grassroots lobbying group for the Third World with periodic reports and workshops.

Milwaukee Archdiocesan World Justice and Peace Education Program, 3900 N. Third Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53212. The

Program encourages students, teachers, and parishioners to question and reflect upon injustice in our society and to take responsibility for the building of a new world. To achieve this goal the Program offers workshops, learning materials, audiovisual aids, and consultant services.

New England Action Research, 48 Inman Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139. NEAR, a project of the American Friends Service Committee, is an information-sharing collective, educating people about corporate control of our lives and of our society. They have gathered information on military work being done in New England by corporations and universities; the medical-industrial complex; corporate involvement in Indochina; and other aspects of corporate America. They have resources for education and suggestions for corporate campaigns.

New World Coalition, 419 Boylston Street, Room 209, Boston, Massachusetts 02116. New World Coalition is developing programs to combine critical thinking and action on issues of social justice. They are currently working on a Self-Tax Union, Social Marketing, and an Education Network.

OXFAM-America, 474 Centre Street, Newton, Massachusetts 02158. The U.S. affiliate of OXFAM carries a good selection of educational materials on issues of development.

Service and Communication Center for Development Action Groups, van Blankenburgstraat 6, The Hague, The Netherlands. The Center serves as a worldwide network of communication between development action groups for mutual information, communication, and combined action.

Third World First, 15 Dovey Road, Birmingham, B13 9NT, United Kingdom.

Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, Inc., 78 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02108. The UUSC develops models of social change which it offers for duplication to other larger agencies. Particular thrusts include the use of modern communications technology to organize people to press for their rights and reforms in the U.S. legal system. The UUSC is private, nonprofit, and has projects both in the U.S. and overseas.

United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, Room 803, 1505 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102. The Peace Priority Team of the Division of Christian Education has developed a "Shalom Curriculum" and other action and education resources for local communities.

World Neighbors, 5116 N. Portland Avenue, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73112. A voluntary agency that funds overseas projects and distributes educational materials in the United States.

World Without War Council, 1730 Grove Street, Berkeley, California 94709, and regional offices. The Council provides educational resources, publications, programs and work opportunities, related to issues of war and peace.

X-Y Movement, van Blankenburgstraat 6, The Hague, The Netherlands. The X minus Y movement is a development education and action movement which desires an alternative development policy. They use a self-tax scheme to raise funds for development projects that are truly liberating and they support a form of world taxation.

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The American Library Association has compiled a listing of some "movement" groups and their publications in a 168-page book, Alternatives in Print (Office of Educational Services, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio 43210, $3.50).

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6. AREA FOCUS

Africa Information Service, 112 W. 120 Street, New York, N.Y. 10027. A.I.S. is an organization of Africans and black Americans who share a commitment to Third World anti-imperialist struggles. Some of the work of A.I.S. is a continuation of the efforts of the Africa Research Group. A.I.S. is engaged in research, publications, communication, and various other projects, such as films, and photographic displays. They hope to establish ongoing organizational links with those who use their services and have access to their materials.

The American Committee for Justice in the Middle East, P.O. Box 3211, Boulder, Colorado 80302.

American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Founded in 1953 to promote support in the U.S. for African freedom and independence from colonial rule, ACOA now focuses its attention on southern Africa where Portuguese colonial and white minority rule remains entrenched. The Committee provides information and educational resources for many sectors of the public, and develops programs on specific issues, both to build support for the movements for African liberation and to end U.S. ties with the colonial and white minority regimes.

Asian Studies Project, Ohio State University, College of Education, 1945 N. High Street, Columbus, Ohio 43210. An excellent contact for resources and ideas.

Middle East Research and Information Project, P.O. Box 48, Harvard Square Station, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138; P.O. Box 3122, Columbia Heights Station, Washington, D.C. 20010. MERIP is a collection of people who issue a monthly publication called MERIP Reports (annual subscription: $6 individual, $10 institution) and who provide educational programs and literature on the political economy of the Middle East, the role of the United States in that area, and the class and national struggles of the people there.

North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025; P.O. Box 226, Berkeley, California 94701. Research, studies, and documentation on U.S./Latin American political, economic, social, cultural and religious relations. Publishes Latin America and Empire Report.

Pacific Studies Center, 1963 University Avenue, East Palo Alto, California 94303. The Center is engaged in research on the political economy of the Pacific and Asia and on U.S. economic, political, and military policies as they relate to that area. Publishes "Pacific Research and World Empire Telegram."

Project on Asian Studies in Education, 300 Lane Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104. PASE is designed to bridge the gap between the university area centers and public education on Asia. The Project offers assistance to educators in secondary schools and two and four year colleges in the Midwest in order to improve the teaching of Asian Studies. Specifically, PASE offers teacher training and guidance in the selection of educational materials.

ACTION RESOURCES

Needless to say there is as much diversity in action for justice as there is in the educational materials in this field. One needs to be as critical in assessing these resources as one was with those above.

The first place to look for action possibilities is with the various groups listed in the previous section. These other guides will also be of help.

Discovery in Service (New York: Paulist Press, 157 pp. $2.50). Brings the reader into contact with the data of experience in order to open the subtle and human dimensions of social problems (poverty, race, drugs, alcohol, and homelessness) and to provide an environment of questioning in which one can actively reflect on life as it is.

A Guide to Student Action for Development. Produced by World University Service and the International Student Movement for the U.N. Available from WUSC, 27 Goulburn Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario KIN 8C7. 1971. 61 pp., $1.

A Guide to U.S. Voluntary Organizations and World Affairs. Virginia Saurwein (Ed). A special issue of Intercom which provides the names, addresses, activities, and a short description of over 300 U.S. voluntary organizations and world affairs groups. Available for $1.50 from the Center for War/Peace Studies, 218 E. 18 Street, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Invest Yourself. The Commission on Voluntary Service and Action, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 665, New York, N.Y. 10027. A catalog of service opportunities published annually, listing several hundred specific projects and placements, with 26,000 openings, as well as the names and addresses of the 150 private, North American voluntary service agencies--who individually sponsor projects, and together make up CVSA. Invest Yourself lists community service projects, workcamps, community organization and action programs, working seminars, institutional service, intercultural and international understanding programs, etc. Price for 1973 edition: $1 postpaid.

Target: Development Action. American Freedom from Hunger Foundation, 1717 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. A 90-page booklet filled with education and action ideas for youth. Price: $1.50.

Vocations for Social Change, Canyon, California 94516. VSC publishes a free bi-monthly 60-page listing of action projects and job opportunities for those concerned with social change and social justice, particularly in the United States.

The World Assembly of Youth Handbook. WAY, 37-41, rue d'Arlon, Brussels 4, Belgium. This 28-page booklet offers many social action techniques which will be of use to all those who are looking to change the root causes of poverty in the Third World as they are found in the home countries. Write for current price.

Youth Power Strategy Manual. Walther League, 875 N. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610. The aim of this 28-page booklet is to help young people get used to experimenting and putting ideas into action within their community. It shows how to get started, how to decide what to do, how to set up a core-group, how to "conscientize" people, and so on. Price: 50¢.